Daily Report

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Dimitrov on Warsaw Pact, CFE Conclusion *[Vienna DER STANDARD 20 Apr]* 1
CSFR's Harencar on European Security Commission *[Prague Radio]* 1
GDR, Poland, USSR To Stage Air Maneuvers *[Hamburg DPA]* 2
'Open Skies' Conference Resumes 23 Apr *[Budapest Radio]* 2
Further on Resumption of Conference *[MTI]* 2
Horn Addresses Conference *[Budapest Radio]* 3
Further on Horn Statements *[MTI]* 3
Further on Conference *[MTI]* 3
Romania's Chirila on 'New Climate' for Disarmament *[ROMPRES]* 4

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SFRY's Loncar UN Nonaligned Meeting Speech *[TANJUG]* 5
Hungary Hosts Conference on Minority Rights *[MTI]* 5

ALBANIA

SFRY Daily Reports Alia Assassination Attempt *[AFP]* 7
AFP: Moscow Ready To Establish Friendly Ties 7

BULGARIA

U.S. Intelligence Budget for East Europe Viewed *[DUMA 23 Apr]* 8
CSFR 'Witch-Hunt' Against Communists Deplored *[Vutov in DUMA 20 Apr]* 8
UK Billionaire Arrives for Cooperation Talks *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Bulgarian Workers in Libya Resume Strike *[POGLED 23 Apr]* 9
Protest Against SFRY's New Currency Regulation *[DUMA 22 Apr]* 9
DUMA Campaigns for Visit by Pope on 24 May *[BTA]* 10
First Balkan Journalist Conference Opens *[BTA]* 10
Election Campaigns Begin With Media Blitz *[AFP]* 10
ASO Independent Election Platform Criticized *[Bonev in DUMA 23 Apr]* 10
BSP Ethics Commission Expels Former Leaders *[DUMA 21 Apr]* 11
Generals Discuss Alliances, Role of Army *[ANTENI 18 APR]* 12
Defense Minister Proposes Army Service Reduction *[DUMA 21 Apr]* 15
War Veterans Protest Anti-Soviet Demonstrations *[NARODNA ARMIYA 20 Apr]* 15
Macedonian Nationalism Campaign Denounced *[DUMA 23 Apr]* 15
Discovery of Mass Graves Stirs Debate *[DUMA 23 Apr]* 16
Two New Mass Graves Found in Northern Bulgaria *[BTA]* 17
Pazardzhik Prison Strike Ends, Order Restored *[BTA]* 17
Bulgaria Described as Source of Computer Viruses *[NARODNA ARMIYA 20 Apr]* 17
Investigation of Suicides in Kurdzhali Urged *[OTECHESTVEN FRONT 20 Apr]* 17

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel, Delegation Depart for Israel 25 Apr *[Prague Radio]* 19
Israeli Reportage *[cross-reference]* 19
Havel Views Background to Ties With Israel *[CTK]* 19
First Israeli Diplomat Installed Since 1967 *[LIDOVE NOVINY 21 Apr]* 19
24 Apr Prague Demonstration Supports Lithuania *[Prague Radio]* 19

Lithuanian Separatists 'Threat' to Global Security *[Bratislava PRAVDA 21 Apr]* 20
Figures on Soviet Troop Withdrawal *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 21 Apr]* 20
Soviet Withdrawal Oversight Group Visits Milovice *[Prague Radio]* 20
Visits Mlada Boleslav *[Prague Radio]* 20
Final List of Parties Running in Jun Elections *[Bratislava PRAVDA 20 Apr]* 21
Czechs, Slovaks Polled on Election Preferences *[CTK]* 21
Miners Demonstrate for Social Demands 19 Apr *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Apr]* 22
Paper Calls on Interior Minister Sacher To Resign *[Dus in LIDOVE NOVINY 20 Apr]* 22
Civic Forum on Possible Sacher Resignation *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 20 Apr]* 23
Charter 77 Condemns 'Campaign' Against 2 Members *[CTK]* 23
People's Party Statement Defends Sacher *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 21 Apr]* 23
Sacher on Security Situation *[MLADA FRONTA 21 Apr]* 24
Federal Assembly Discusses Drug Trafficking, Dams *[CTK]* 25
Havel Opposed To Outlawing CPCZ *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Apr]* 25
Officials Discuss Prosecutor Letter on Communists *[CTK]* 26
CPCZ Statement on Prague Prosecutor's Letter *[RUDE PRAVO 19 Apr]* 26
CPCZ's Stepan Defends Actions, Party *[LIDOVE NOVINY 20 Apr, etc.]* 27
More on Czech Premier's 23 Apr News Conference *[Prague Radio]* 28
Slovak Government Council for Nationalities Set Up *[Bratislava PRAVDA 19 Apr]* 28
Professional Border Police To Be Set Up *[CTK]* 29
New Leftist Biweekly Published *[RUDE PRAVO 19 Apr]* 29

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Kohl, De Maiziere Target Economic Union 2 Jul *[ADN]* 30
De Maiziere 'Hopeful' After Talks *[ADN]* 30
FRG Proposals Called 'Negotiating Offer' *[Hamburg DPA]* 30
De Maiziere on Unification, Other Issues *[Hamburg DIE WELT 23 Apr]* 30
De Maiziere Moscow Visit Set for 28 Apr *[ADN]* 34
Meckel, FRG's Genscher Hold Talks in Bonn *[ADN]* 34
GDR, FRG Embassies To Cooperate *[ADN]* 35
Foreign Minister Meckel on NATO Membership *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 23 Apr]* 35
USSR Wants Troop Treaty With United Germany *[NEUE ZEIT 18 Apr]* 35
German Membership in NATO, Warsaw Pact Viewed *[Wehner in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Apr]* .. 36
Intra-German Talks on State Treaty Begin *[ADN]* 37
Government Spokesman on Talks *[ADN]* 37
Gysi on Unified Germany, Opposition's Role *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21-22 Apr]* 37
Agriculture Minister on Market Transition Problems *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21-22 Apr]* 40
Pohl Views Investment, Employment Prospects *[Hamburg DPA]* 40
Wilhelm-Pieck University Renamed Rostock *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Apr]* 41
New Leipzig Fair To Be Held in May *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21-22 Apr]* 41

HUNGARY

Soviet General on Troop Management in Hungary *[Budapest Radio]* 42
Soviet Troop Withdrawal To Accelerate *[Budapest Radio]* 42
Defense Communique on Troop Withdrawal Talks *[MTI]* 42
Government To Extend Parties' Property Leases *[Budapest Radio]* 43
Coalition Partners Agree on Land Ownership *[MTI]* 43
Smallholders Official on Land Ownership Concept *[NEPSZAVA 20 Apr]* 43
Smallholders Prepare for Elections, Interim *[Budapest Radio]* 44
National Assembly Committees To Be Established *[MTI]* 44
MDF Rejects Accusation of Anti-Semitism *[Budapest Radio]* 45
HDF Presidium Denies Membership Freeze *[MTI]* 45
Hungarian People's Party Presidium, Board Resign *[Budapest Radio]* 45
World Bank To Assist Telecommunications Upgrade *[MTI]* 45
New Customs Law To Be Implemented 1 Jan 91 *[MTI]* 46
Lawyers Excluded for '56 Activities Reinstated *[MTI]* 46

POLAND

Jaruzelski 'Highly' Assesses Talks in USSR *[Warsaw TV]* 47
Soviet Defense Minister Yazov on Brief Visit 47
Received by Siwicki, Jaruzelski *[Warsaw Radio]* 47
Received by Mazowiecki *[Warsaw Radio]* 47
Yazov Comments on Talks *[Warsaw Radio]* 47
Departs After Meetings *[Warsaw TV]* 48
New Protocol on Polish-USSR Friendship Signed *[PAP]* 48
Commission To Negotiate for Artifacts in USSR *[Warsaw TV]* 48
Solidarity Wraps Up National Congress in Gdansk 48
Adopts Statute Changes *[Warsaw Radio]* 48
PAP Roundup of 24 Apr Debate 48
Program Resolution Adopted *[Warsaw Radio]* 49
Congress Ends 25 Apr *[Warsaw Radio]* 49
Activists View National Commission *[PAP]* 50
Solidarity Bank, Insurance Firm To Be Set Up *[PAP]* 50
Solidarity Options, Prospects Analyzed *[Rogala in RZECZPOSPOLITA 18 Apr]* 50
Walesa on Presidency, Need for Results *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 17 Apr]* 51
Premier's Adviser Kuczinski Views Economy *[Paris LE FIGARO 20 Apr]* 53
Gdansk Transport Workers Begin Strike *[PAP]* 55
Trade Unions Hold Protest at Finance Ministry *[PAP]* 55
Opinion Poll on Factory Workers' Mood *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 18 Apr]* 55
Demonstration Against Nuclear Power Plant *[PAP]* 56

ROMANIA

PNUC Discusses Demonstrations, Passes Bills *[ROMPRES]* 57
Session Ends; Iliescu on Protests *[ROMPRES]* 57
Demonstrations Continue at University Square *[Bucharest Radio]* 58
10,000 Protestors Gather *[AFP]* 58
Protesters' Demands Noted *[Bucharest Radio]* 58
* Timisoara Speech of 'Comrade' Iliescu Scored *[DREPTATEA 3 Apr]* 59
Voican on Parts of Ceausescu Trial Shown on TV *[ROMPRES]* 60
Hungarian TV on Film of Ceausescus' Execution *[Budapest Radio]* 60
Court Hears Appeal of Genocide Accomplices *[ROMPRES]* 60
Roman on Elections, Communist Party *[Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG 22 Apr]* 61
Republican Party of Unity President Replaced *[ROMPRES]* 63
Agrarian Democratic Party Makes Appeal *[ROMPRES]* 63
Democratic Forum Member on Ongoing Oppression *[Vienna DER STANDARD 25 Apr]* 63
Forum Protests Withdrawal of King's Entry Visa *[ROMANIA LIBERA 14 Apr]* 64
NPCDP Youth Supports King's Right To Visit *[ROMANIA LIBERA 14 Apr]* 64
Plan To Open Hard Currency Shops Criticized *[DREPTATEA 13 Apr]* 65
Deals, Contracts With Foreign Partners *[ROMPRES]* 65
Lithuanian Embargo Protested at USSR Embassy *[ROMPRES]* 66
Roman Receives U.S. Military Delegation *[ROMPRES]* 66
Delegation Concludes Visit *[ROMPRES]* 66
Iliescu Receives FRG Parliamentary Delegation *[ROMPRES]* 66

YUGOSLAVIA

Commentary Assails Baker's 'Interference' *[Stipetic in Zagreb VJESNIK 21 Apr]* 67
Drnovsek Continues Official Visit to Portugal 67
Receives Political Leaders *[TANJUG]* 67
Makes Dinner Speech With Soares *[TANJUG]* 68
Ends Visit *[TANJUG]* 68
Financial Official Presents Economic Data *[TANJUG]* 69
Croat Elections Viewed With 'Fear,' 'Anxiety' *[Belgrade Radio]* 69
Review of Provisional Election Results in Croatia *[TANJUG]* 69
Croatia's Tudjman Interviewed on Markovic Reform *[Vienna TV]* 70
Tudjman Holds News Conference on Elections *[TANJUG]* 70

Kucan's Election as Slovene President Announced *[TANJUG]* 71
Slovene Assembly Election Results Announced *[Ljubljana Radio]* 71
Peterle Proposed for Slovene Executive President *[Ljubljana Radio]* 71
Markovic Meets With Slovene Businessmen *[TANJUG]* 71
Markovic, Kucan Discuss Economic Issues *[TANJUG]* 72
Kucan Interviewed on Slovene Situation *[Ljubljana Radio]* 72
Crowds Greet Vlasi Acqittal, Forced To Disperse *[TANJUG]* 73
Radmilovic Comments on Future of Serbia *[TANJUG]* 73
Montenegro Communists Want New LCY Program *[TANJUG]* 74
Party of Yugoslavs Founded in Macedonia *[TANJUG]* 74
'Tito' Sign Removed from Municipal Building *[TANJUG]* 74
Pljevlja Municipal LC Officials Resign *[TANJUG]* 74

Dimitrov on Warsaw Pact, CFE Conclusion

AU2004132890 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 20 Apr 90 p 2

[Norbert Mayer report: "Erosion of Postwar Order"]

[Text] Vienna—"The 23 negotiating teams have to keep up with the pace of history." With these words, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov called on the negotiators in the Vienna disarmament negotiations to intensify their work. He stressed, as a guest speaker in the CFE plenum, that his country is firmly determined to find its appropriate place in the newly developing Europe. The first Vienna treaty already is to account for the fundamental changes on the continent. In the subsequent news conference, referring to the Warsaw Pact's fate, Dimitrov stated that "the erosion of the postwar order can be observed" in the whole of Europe today. "This is happening somewhat faster in the East Bloc." Bulgaria hopes for a pan-European security system. However, his country still needs the crumbling structures in the transition period, he said.

The foreign minister did not see any advantages in closer ties between the Balkan states. "We never considered a separate solution for the Balkans as desirable." However, the idea of a nuclear-free zone in southern Europe is very popular with the public.

Asked about the internal crises in the Soviet Union and a possible connection with delays in the Vienna negotiations, Dimitrov showed great reserve; all over the world, people have scruples to comment on this, he said. "I do not have the relevant information on Lithuania. However, regarding the conflict between the Soviet federation and the Republic of Lithuania, we advocate a solution by means of negotiations. A regulation is desirable and possible," Dimitrov said. He shows cautious optimism about the conclusion of the CFE treaty. "Apart from technical subtleties, only the political will is required for the treaty. However, its development on a solid basis would be preferable," Dimitrov said, while suggesting that it will hardly be possible to stick to the final date in the fall.

CSFR's Harencar on European Security Commission

LD2004221290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Robert Harencar, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, today addressed the Vienna talks on disarmament and measures on strengthening trust and security in Europe. He reported on the Czechoslovak proposal to set up the European Security Commission. On this occasion he was asked for an interview by our special correspondent, Michael Berko:

[Begin recording] [Berko] Mr. First Deputy Minister, in connection with our address today at the plenary meeting of the talks of 35 participant states on the measures to strengthen trust and security in Europe, allow me to ask several questions. What was the main subject of your address today?

[Harencar] To brief the participants in the Vienna talks on our concept of solving the questions of security and stability in Europe, above all to explain the substance of the Czechoslovak proposal to set up the European Security Commission as the prototype for a new European security structure on the European continent.

[Berko] Does this mean that the European Security Commission would replace European disarmament forums?

[Harencar] Certainly not. We are not concerned with their replacement but with setting up a permanent platform for solving all the issues of concern to Europe. As to the relation of the commission with the disarmament talks, it should represent a place from which impulses for speeding up the adoption of security measures should arise. It would also deal, for example, with the fulfillment of disarmament agreements.

[Berko] Mr. Deputy, you mentioned that the bloc approach toward security should be gradually overcome and that European security structures should be built on an altogether new basis. We also know that, above all, NATO is not considering within the nearest future it self-liquidation, even in the case of disintegration of the Warsaw Pact. What is the position of the Czechoslovak initiative regarding the question of the bloc?

[Harencar] From a prospective point of view, it is in our interest to achieve disbanding both military-political formations. But we are realists, and we understand that it is not a question which will be tackled at once. Our proposal is not aimed against NATO cooperation, which represents a significant element of stability on the European continent. The commission would function alongside the two blocs and, at the same time, it would be the place for contacts, talks between them, possibly even with participation of neutral and Nonaligned states.

[Berko] When, in your view, would it be possible to set up the commission?

[Harencar] The president, Vaclav Havel, stated at the recent Meeting-90 in Bratislavia [9 April] that this year's summit of the 35 participatory states in the Helsinki process should make a decision on setting up this commission. We are aware that the implementation of this intention requires great painstaking and patient work by the Czechoslovak foreign service. However, we are determined to do everything to implement our proposal.

[Berko] Can you say a few words about how you assess developments at the talks on conventional arms in general?

[Harencar] We can see that hard work is going on in Vienna, and that certain agreements have been reached. However, we can see that there are still a number of

issues which have to be resolved in order to enable an agreement to be signed at this year's summit of the 35 CSCE states.

[Berko] And what is the reaction so far to the Czechoslovak proposal for setting up a European Security Commission?

[Harencar] The first response is positive, particularly with respect to the timing of our proposal and its orientation toward setting up a modern security structure in Europe, which corresponds to the interests of small and large states. We expect the fundamental standpoints to be presented at a meeting between Mr. Dienstbier, our deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs, with the ambassadors of 34 CSCE countries and Albania, which will take place on 2 May in Prague. [end recording]

GDR, Poland, USSR To Stage Air Maneuvers

LD2004185590 Hamburg DPA in German 1511 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The Armed Forces of the GDR, the Polish Republic, and the USSR will stage a maneuver of their air defense forces in Northern GDR next week (24-25 April). The Ministry of Disarmament and Defense announced in East Berlin today that this "tactical training measure" was part of the plan of the Warsaw Pact states. Civilian aviation will have to expect temporary restrictions on both days.

'Open Skies' Conference Resumes 23 Apr

LD2304004190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] Tomorrow [23 April], in Budapest, the Open Skies disarmament consultation continues. On this occasion, the participants held a closed meeting of experts this afternoon. Julia Tordai's interview follows:

[Begin recording] [Tordai] The conference is seeking to work out an agreement on the unarmed monitoring incursions in the airspace of the 26 participating countries. Don't you think that the negotiations between the countries of the two military blocks are slowing down, I asked Henning Wegener, deputy chief secretary of NATO, whom I met at the opening of the Hungarian Disarmament Information Center.

[Wegener, in English with superimposed Hungarian translation] No, not at all, no, no. On the contrary, I think, today, the expression is more and more outdated. I personally am full of hopes and ambitions regarding the European security system.

[Tordai] The first round of the Open Skies Conference was held in Ottawa last February. How much has been achieved since then?

[Wegener] Well, I think the complexity of the issue is beginning to show. The problem of the Open Skies is much more complex than we thought at the beginning, since it is about 23 sovereign states allowing others to look over their territory like over an open book. I think of the censor equipment that can be allowed at the incursions into foreign airspace. What we must do now is move from the concept to its detailed realization. The strict COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] list ought to be revised. The question today is, what is the lower limit, because defense and security will of course always remain necessary. Thus technology, which is so vital for defense, one should hesitate to deliver such goods. [end recording]

Further on Resumption of Conference

LD2304134990 Budapest MTI in English 1247 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 23 (MTI)—The second round of the open skies conference commenced in Budapest on Monday morning [23 April].

As a follow-up to their recent Ottawa meeting, the representatives from the 23 NATO and Warsaw Treaty member countries have now set to the conference table to work out, possibly by May 12, the contract on observation overflights in one another's countries.

The open skies initiative was revoked by President Bush in a speech last May. The idea was first raised by U.S. President Eisenhower at the 1955 Geneva summit of the four great powers. He proposed that east and west reach an agreeent on taking aerial photos on a mutual basis so as to avoid undesirable military suprises. Then the Soviet Union rejected the proposal.

The favourable response to the repeated announcement of the open skies initiative is attributable to the growing demand for reliable, expedient inspection methods and techniques.

Hungary and Canada, the initiators of the conference, proved the viability of the concept in January this year, when the Canadian C-130 Hercules carried out a successful test flight over Hungary.

A major step towards realization was the working out in Ottawa of a 140-page draft agreement which is now to be finalized in Budapest.

In the light of current disputes, however, the hope for signing the document on the scheduled date of May 12 seems to be fading. For instance, there are differences as to the permissible, annual number of overflights, the extension of controls to a base of a given country located in the third state, and whether signatories should carry out the overlights by their own planes or set up a joint stock of aircrafts for the purpose.

Horn Addresses Conference

LD2304111890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpts] This morning the second, and hopefully the last, phase of the Open Skies conference opened in the Army House of Culture on Nepstadion Road. [passage omitted] The delegates of seven Warsaw Pact and 16 NATO states took their places along two rows of tables. [passage omitted]

Tibor Toth, head of the Hungarian delegation, opened the consultation just after 0930 and then, in the capacity as organizer and host, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn greeted the participants. We quote from his speech:

[Begin Horn recording] The democratic transformation taking place in the Central and Eastern part of Europe offers huge possibilities, a rare historical chance for these states and for our entire continent.

Security policy now has a dual task: On the one hand, to guarantee that these changes take place within stable frameworks; on the other hand, the shaping of a new European security structure in place of the old one based on the existence of the two military blocs. This new structure, which has to extend to every state on our continent, must be characterized by placing in the forefront the nonmilitary factors of cooperation and security.

The Open Skies system could play an important role in shaping the new European security system. It is indispensable that in the elaboration of the agreement we also assert as consistently as possible the national method of approach [as heard]. We all know that despite the significant work performed in Ottawa, many questions still await solution. The only hope for shaping rational compromises is if the work of every delegation is guided by the principles and endeavors laid down in the communique.

It gives me great pleasure to be able to open the second phase of the Open Skies conference. Perhaps it will not sound immodest if I state that the fact that Budapest can provide a home for a forum of such great significance represents the recognition of Hungary's activities concerning arms limitation, which it has carried out for years. [end recording]

After Gyula Horn's words of greeting, the consultation held a brief recess, and then the diplomats continued their work behind closed doors. And no doubt it will go on like this until the confidence-strengthening Open Skies agreement is completed. Then presumably the foreign ministers will come to Budapest for the festive signing of the agreement. This was planned originally for 12 May. However, if they do not manage to complete the agreement by then, the Hungarian side is ready even after that to ensure the conditions for the continuation of this very important international conference.

Further on Horn Statements

LD2304174790 Budapest MTI in English 1645 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 23 (MTI)—The opening address at the Open Skies Conference, which began in Budapest on Monday [23 April], was delivered by Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn.

Mr Horn said, among others, that the democratic transformation sweeping the central and Eastern part of Europe offers a huge possibility and a rare historical chance for these states, and also for the continent as a whole. Security policy now has a dual task. On the one hand, it should guarantee that these changes take place amidst stable frameworks. On the other hand, that a new European security structure come about instead of the old one that is based on the existence of the two military blocs.

The Open Skies system can play a major role in the creation of a New European security system, Mr Horn noted. He recalled that the political decisions which would have made it possible for delegates to sit down for the talks in Budapest in the sure hope of the final outcome, were not reached in the period between the Ottawa and the Budapest stages of the conference. However, this does not mean there is no chance for success, rather that the delegations face hard work in the coming days.

Further on Conference

LD2304174390 Budapest MTI in English 1606 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 23 (MTI)—Following the opening of the Open Skies conference, the some 250 experts from 23 NATO and Warsaw Treaty member states continued debate over the draft treaty in work groups.

Tibor Toth, leader of the Hungarian delegation, held a press conference on the event taking place in Budapest. He said the conference is progressing according to the working order approved in Ottawa. However, changes might be possible inasmuch as participants will include plenary session on the agenda of the conference, which is held behind closed doors. These less formal conferences make it possible for representatives of the neutral and non-aligned countries to also be present. (Representatives of these countries earlier requested full-right participation at the Open Skies Conference, but no consensus came about in the issue.)

Mr Toth said that in his opening address, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn announced: In case the conference ends with success, and the delegates approve the proposal, then Hungary is ready to see to a suitable infrastructure for the consultative committee of the Open Skies treaty, in return for a symbolic payment of one forint.

Romania's Chirila on 'New Climate' for Disarmament

AU2304124290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0913 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest April 23/4/1990—"The new climate requires greater exigencies, responsibilities and efforts for tangible results to be obtained in disarmament, including, or especially, at the Geneva conference" stressed in his address there Romanian representative Gheorghe Chirila.

As reported by "ROMPRES" special envoy to the conference, Constantin Tintea, the speaker showed that the nuclear issues were considered priorities for the meeting and welcomed the congenial conditions existing for the starting of a more specific dialogue on the elaboration of a substantive mandate for the special committee regarding the banning of nuclear tests. In connection with the problem of controlling a treaty banning the tests, the speaker assessed that considerable progress was marked, namely the devising by the ad-hoc committee of scientific experts of a global system of seismic control. In that context he expressed the Romanian delegation's satisfaction at its participation as of this session in the ad-hoc group and at its expected involvement, with its technology, in the global experiment that will show its conclusions in 1991.

Then, referring to the stage of negotiations on banning and eliminating chemical weapons, the Romanian representative reiterated Romania's full political readiness for the fast achievement of a convention in this sense. "We have clearly declared that Romania does not possess chemical weapons, nor does it intend to produce or obtain such weapons."

The Romanian chief delegate noted that a problem more and more often approached during the debates was the universality of the future document. "We think that the involvement of an ever larger number of countries in the process of negotiations and the endorsement by consensus of the convention are among the conditions apt to favour the legitimate requisite of universality. Romania is ready to endorse as initiator party a convention that should be the result of such a process" he said.

The Romanian chief delegate expressed on the other hand the regret that with respect to other items on the agenda, such as the arms race in the outer space, debates were not oriented toward basic aspects.

SFRY's Loncar UN Nonaligned Meeting Speech

LD2404180290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1126 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] New York, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—Detente and peace cannot be universal without the resolution of the grave economic problems of the developing countries and concrete support for their economic recovery and growth, stressed Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, at the nonaligned ministerial meeting, which started today at the UN Headquarters in New York.

The ministeral meeting is held within the framework of the special United Nations General Assembly session on the problem of development. Budimir Loncar gave the introductory speech as the representative of the presiding country over the Nonaligned Movement.

"Peace and security are not stable categories as long as they are endangered by the North-South economic imbalance, a problem that cannot be resolved in isolation and merely with directly affected developing countries, Loncar stressed. According to him, even developments in Europe confirm that East-West relations are increasingly turning into North-South relations, into a state of increasing economic dependancy. This is best shown, Loncar maintains, by the example of East European countries, which with indisputably enormous economic needs, virtually stepped into the sphere of the developed world by embarking on democratic processes. According to Loncar, these countries are not competing with the developing countries. They should be seen as partners because they themselves are interested in development and political detente.

Therefore, there are no reasons, Loncar stresses, to be concerned whether problems and needs of the developing countries will be neglected due to interests aroused by the changed Europe. Moreover, as much as confronation between blocs and superpowers until recently endangered world peace and security, new relations between them have had positive effects on the resolution of a series of international problems, Loncar holds. Together with all these, the awareness that Europe cannot count on its long-term progress without having operational links with the world is gaining strength.

The state of world indivisability, Loncar went on, demands that the Nonaligned Movement support and consolidate all positive trends, as well as make breakthroughs in resolving problems left over by the positive processes. After its ninth summit, the movement, according to Loncar, gave strong support to superpower agreements, stressing at the same time that there can be no stable peace without the resolution of grave economic problems. This view was promoted in contacts with the EC and other developed countries.

Budimir Loncar went on to summarize briefly the activities of the nonaligned in the period since the last summit, primarily in the sphere of hotspots and crises, and in this context he placed special emphasis on the Nonaligned Movement's vital contribution to Namibia's independence. The movement also has enhanced its work efficiency and has stepped up its joint efforts and permanent contacts with as many member countries as possible. All this has resulted in many new ideas, proposals, and initiatives. As an example, Loncar cited contacts between the nine neutral and nonaligned European countries within the CSCE and their efforts to extend the process of detente into the Mediterranean region.

However, the United Nations remains the place for wide international cooperation, Loncar stressed, including the nonaligned countries, which have always found inspiration in the UN Charter. This cooperation should be expanded to include not just traditional areas of work, but also environmental protection, human rights, and the fight against drugs, Loncar suggested.

Speaking of the nonaligned countries' future activities, Loncar stressed the need for including the issue of the position of developing countries on the agendas of the June superpower summit and the meeting of seven most-developed countries. The issue will be discussed at the summit meeting of "Group of 15" nonaligned and developing countries in Kuala Lumpur at the beginning of June. In a word, all our efforts should be coordinated and designed to lead to North-South dialogue, Loncar said.

Such a comprehensive approach to world problems is a product of the view that nonaligned policy is not just antibloc, that it now has been given the opportunity to influence the creation of new foundations for stability in the world, Loncar noted. In other words, he stressed, "we must both support and make our full contribution to the orientation toward disarmament, dialogue, and detente, to resolving hotbeds of crisis in general, to an overall desire for peace, and for the removal of ideological and military—political divisions in the world."

New detente and stability in the world called for all-embracing democratization, primarily in the social and economic sphere. In light of the fact that transformation in this direction is yet to begin, nonalignment as an alternative is today neither less topical nor less relevant, said Budimir Loncar, among other things, in his introductory report to the nonaligned ministerial meeting at the United Nations.

Hungary Hosts Conference on Minority Rights

LD2204021190 Budapest MTI in English 2015 GMT 21 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 21 (MTI)—The two-day session of international experts, focussing on minority rights, came to an end on Saturday, at Dobogoko (Hungary), which was attended by representatives of 13 countries, the Council and Parliament of Europe.

The event was organised by the Council of Mnisters' Nationality and Ethnic Minority College, and prominent European lawyers. Politicians participating spoke in appreciation of the bill elaborated by Hungarian experts on minority rights. This bill could be exemplary also for other countries, provided it is adopted by the new Hungarian Parliament. Suitable European forums for for representing minority issues were also discussed, particularly the forums of the Helsinki process, the Council and Parliament of Europe.

Hungary elaborated two kinds of comprehensive draft proposals on the protection of European minorities. The drafts were debated at the conference and recommended for submission for the human rights conference to take place in Copenhagen in June, and to the Council and Parliament of Europe.

Foreign participants at the conference mentioned that Hungary's joining in work of the Council of Europe, was a substantial contribution on the issue of protecting minorities.

Participants forwarded a letter of greetings to the first congress of the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania, at Oradea.

SFRY Daily Reports Alia Assassination Attempt

AU2504101090 Paris AFP in English 0931 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 25 (AFP)—Albanian leader Ramiz Alia has survived an assassination attempt, apparently by the personal secretary of former Albanian strongman Enver Hoxha, the Yugoslavian newspaper POLITIKA reported Wednesday [25 April].

The newspaper, quoting unidentified Albanian refugees in Yugoslavia, said Mr. Alia was slightly injured by a gunshot fired by Mr. Hoxha's former secretary.

POLITIKA reported that the attempt on Mr. Alia's life was the result of a conflict between him and Mr. Hoxha's widow, Nexhmija. Mr. Alia has apparently opposed Mrs. Hoxha's wish to move to France with her son, and according to POLITIKA's sources the late Albanian leader's secretary was acting on behalf of Mrs. Hoxha when he shot Mr. Alia.

POLITIKA said the shooting came at a time of increasing civil strife in Albania, a communist country that has resisted the reforms sweeping the rest of Eastern Europe.

The newspaper said several demonstrations have occurred throughout the country in recent weeks, and that one demonstrator was killed during a protest in Valone. One of the slogans chanted by demonstrators was "Down with Nexhmija Hoxha", the newspaper said.

Albanian authorities have formed special units to counter the growing unrest, said POLITIKA, which last December published unconfirmed reports of serious unrest in Albania.

AFP: Moscow Ready To Establish Friendly Ties

AU2404150290 Paris AFP in English 1423 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, April 24 (AFP)—The Soviet Union was ready to establish friendly relations with Albania, an official spokesman said here Tuesday [24 April].

The statement by Vadim Perfiliev, a spokesman for the foreign ministry, came after Albanian leader Ramiz Alia said earlier this month he favoured a resumption of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

Moscow and Tirana severed diplomatic ties in 1961.

Mr. Perfiliev said Moscow was "paying much attention to the statement of the Albanian Communist Party chief" as they were a step toward the normalization of Soviet-Albanian ties.

Mr. Alia, addressing a plenary session of the ruling Communist Party on April 17, said the resumption of diplomatic relations with the United States and the Soviet Union was "on the agenda" of Albanian politics.

U.S. Intelligence Budget for East Europe Viewed

AU2504074590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 Apr 90 p 4

[Radoslav Velev article: "Inertia"]

[Text] In the East European countries you can observe not only a general devaluation of national currencies, but also a devaluation of the peculiar, and until recently quite large, category of fighters with invisible epaulets. The dismantling of the totalitarian system has gradually dispersed the people's holy terror which they inspired and, along with this, reduced the importance of the cloak and dagger knights without whom this system would have been unthinkable. It is logical that progress toward democracy is accompanied by a simultaneous and considerable reduction of expenditures for the staffs of secret services in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, let alone the GDR, where the "Stasi" of the former State Security Ministry represent the largest part of the emerging, future army of unemployed.

Nevertheless, against the background of this phenomenon, which is encouraging for all people who do not wear invisible epaulets, a news item recently published in the LOS ANGELES TIMES attracted our attention. According to this report, the U.S. secret services' expenditures are expected to reach the record amount of $30 billion in 1991! As the U.S. daily reports, nearly half this amount is supposed to be allocated for collecting information in and about East Europe.

As a matter of principle, the budget for intelligence services is usually approved by the U.S. Congress without any special objections or corrections. On this occasion, however, critical remarks questioning the expediency of the proposed expenditures were reportedly voiced. The LOS ANGELES TIMES claims that the authors of the secret draft budget item were reprimanded for not having duly taken into account the political changes that have occurred in the Eastern part of the "old world." Numerous congressmen, reportedly, thought that the U.S. secret services should primarily devote their attention to the hotbeds of conflict in the developing countries and to banning the proliferation of chemical weapons.

CSFR 'Witch-Hunt' Against Communists Deplored

AU2504095590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Apr 90 p 4

[Boyko Vutov commentary: "Is This Democracy?"]

[Text] Unfortunately, the alarming symptoms of a "witch-hunt" in Czechoslovakia are multiplying. This is unfortunate, because until recently the "velvet revolution" was cited as an example by all.

Of course, each East European state has the right to determine alone the means and methods of its transition toward a democratic and rule-of-law society. However, the activities of Tomas Sokol, Prague's prosecutor general, who is trying to "cleanse the capital of Communists," contain something alarming and dangerous, which affects not only the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and Czechoslovakia.

The prosecutor's letter, addressed to the CPCZ Central Committee, and disseminated by the mass media, is attempting to identify the CPCZ activities in past decades and its government with the activities of the fascists in the preceding period, in other words, to identify fascism with Communism. Furthermore, Dr. Sokol is attempting to credit his country's Communist Party with the sins related to the ideology and practice of the other East European states. In addition, he attempts to incriminate all citizens of those states—both Communists and supporters—and charge them with complicity in the mistakes, deformations, and crimes, regardless by whom or where they were committed, only because of their common "Communist Party, socialism" denominator.

We must distinguish between the statements and activities of the Civic Forum leadership, and those of local leaderships and figures. President Havel has personally and repeatedly declared his opposition to any "witch-hunt" or effort to seek "collective responsibility," which only leads to passions being inflamed and to injustice. However, practice provides abundant examples of the opposite. The letter of Prague's prosecutor is another example of the malicious campaign that is developing today against the CPCZ. This is understandable to a certain extent—the election campaign is now developing in Czechoslovakia and certain persons obviously are trying to score "points" by all means and thus become famous. However, the method in question is hardly compatible with the official duties of a prosecutor, who is responsible for the observance of law.

Let us put aside the "theoretical premises" in Dr. Sokol's letter and his generalizations, which deeply offend every Communist and every honest man, including those in Bulgaria. It is indisputable that the struggle against fascism was conducted by the honest patriots, led by the Communists. They and the rank and file members of the East European states cannot be held responsible for the fact that the Stalinist pseudosocialism discredited the bright ideal. In the final analysis it is because of this ideal that the Communists began a new struggle.

Persecution, including persecution based on court procedure, is a negation of the essence of the changes that are taking place. It places a question mark over the fate of democracy itself. Many thousands of rank and file Communists suffered throughout the years and suffer today together with nonparty members. Are they all fascists?

UK Billionaire Arrives for Cooperation Talks

AU2404194390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Robert Maxwell, the British billionaire, arrived today on a brief working visit to Bulgaria. He had a meeting with Belcho Belchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of finance; Stoyan Zhulev, chairman of the Committee on Tourism; and Georgi Pirinski, member of the Supreme Party Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], who was especially invited to participate in the meeting. Issues related to future cooperation were discussed.

Within 10 days, Mr Maxwell will send 1,000 tons of newsprint, which will be divided between the publications of the opposition and the BSP. It is expected that within one week the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare will receive as a gift medicines and baby food to the tune of $200,000. Other areas of cooperation were also discussed during the meeting.

[Begin Maxwell recording in English, fading into Bulgarian translation] At present there are certain difficulties in anything related to the supply of newsprint, however, I can assure you that within 10 days your press will have at its disposal the quantity I promised. We shall found an international shareholding bank in your country. Your share of the capital will be 50 percent. The basic capital will amount to $20 million and $30 million in goods. Of course, the idea to establish a tourist chain in your country meets with approval in both countries. The chain will comprise six objects of the Committee on Tourism, which we shall utilize together. Some 60 percent of the revenue will be transferred to a special fund for children's health protection. We are also discussing cooperation in the area of television. Naturally, those are only ideas. I believe that soon we shall finalize the last details. [end recording]

Bulgarian Workers in Libya Resume Strike

AU2404204390 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 17 23 Apr 90 pp 8-9

[Rumyan Asenov report: "Export of Strikes?"]

[Text] The truce between the workers of the "Bulgargeomin" Company, who are on strike and the management lasted no more than two days. The government granted a credit to the company enabling it to pay that part of employees' wages in foreign currency for which they have been waiting for over 33 months. A "Bulgargeomin" representative promptly left for Libya to attend the final signing of an agreement, but the strike was resumed on the next day, namely on Monday.

The situation is as follows:

Dzherma [placename as transliterated], Libya: Representatives of the joint strike committee called the Pogled Editorial Board to announce that no consensus was reached. The management of the company proposes that the protocol of a meeting held by the Dzherma collective should serve as the basis for an agreement, which the members of the strike committee do not recognize as valid. The representative of the basic trade union and one of the strike committee members have collected the signatures of all the collective's members one by one, under the condition that negotiations should be conducted. Later, it turned out that the people had signed a protocol agreeing to end the strike. "We managed to warn our colleagues in Tajura, and no such document was signed there. We submitted a letter to the company's management, along with a protocol of the subsequent meeting informing them that we do not recognize the 6 April protocol as valid."

"Bulgargeomin" Company, Sofia: Ivan Iliev, manager of the company, informed us that the company started to transfer the money on a 3-month basis. The strike committee, however, submitted additional requests which the company cannot accept. They are described in a letter written by the employees and signed by them, which, however, omits to list the names of the signatories. The draft document was returned by the company through a special messenger. The company has not received what the Libyan side owed it. In addition to this, the state takes the whole profit, even trying to get hold of the circulating capital. "If I had 20-30 million [currency not specified] available to me, I could compete even with Shell," Ivan Iliev, who is has been manager of the company for approximately a year, stated in our telephone interview.

The Independent Trade Unions Confederation in Bulgaria supports the strikers' demands and tried to negotiate as a mediator with the government for a solution to the problem. "We insisted that this is a problem concerning the state since it emerged on the territory of a foreign country," Lyuben Sapundzhiev clarifying the trade unions' stand. He is an expert on the problems of Bulgarians working abroad. According to the trade unions, the company deceived them at first with the Dzherma agreement, saying that the strike had stopped. The trade unions think that once the government has resolved the financial problem, no other controversial questions should emerge.

It was announced from Dzherma that the management exerts pressure on the strikers. Incidents of threats and even dismissal of strikers' family members were reported. The Bulgarian Embassy in Libya is also involved. Strikes are banned in Libya and the conflict in our enterprise might involve serious consequences.

Protest Against SFRY's New Currency Regulation

AU2504080990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Apr 90 p 1

[Ivan Ilkov report: "Living Chain At Yugoslav Border"]

[Text] On the morning of 21 April, the Bulgarians traveling to Yugoslavia through the Zlatarevo border checkpoint protested against the decision of our western

neighbor, according to which tourists must exchange $200. They created a living chain and hindered the entrance of Yugoslav tourists in our country.

The Bulgarian border and customs authorities and the municipal administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs intervened and later in the day traffic between the Zlatarevo border checkpoint and Novo Selo in Yugoslavia normalized.

DUMA Campaigns for Visit by Pope on 24 May

AU2504082790 Sofia BTA in English 0714 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—DUMA suggests that Pope John Paul II be invited to visit Bulgaria on the occasion of the Day of St. Cyril and Methodius.

The Bulgarian Socialist Party daily front-pages its initiative to set up a national committee which should extend an invitation to the head of the Roman Catholic Church to pay an official visit here on the occasion of May 24, the day of the inventors of the Slavonic script who are revered by the Bulgarians.

Recalling the "Slavorum Apostoli" encyclical in which the pontiff recently praised the epoch-making life work of the two Slavonic enlighteners, DUMA writes: "We believe that we will express the desire of thousands and thousands of Bulgarians to welcome on our native soil the head of the Roman Catholic Church and to pay him their deepest respects."

DUMA calls on the president of Bulgaria, on dignitaries of the Catholic Church in Bulgaria, on the primate of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and on other prominent Bulgarians to join the committee.

First Balkan Journalist Conference Opens

AU2404154190 Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 24 Apr 90

["The Balkans: Journalistic Cooperation"—BTA headline"]

[Text] Sofia, April 24 (BTA)—A meeting of journalists from the Balkan countries on the subject of "Conditions of Work in the Mass Media" was opened here today. It was organized at the initiative of the International Organization of Journalists and became possible thanks to the new atmosphere created in the Balkans.

This first meeting of representatives of the professional organizations of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia reflects the aspiration for interaction and the desire for a more active exchange of useful ideas and experience. At the very beginning it was suggested to make the meeting of journalists of the Balkan countries a regular event.

Election Campaigns Begin With Media Blitz

AU2404145690 Paris AFP in English 1428 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 24 (AFP)—Bulgaria's first free election campaign in more than 45 years began Monday night with a series of competing party promises and slogans on Bulgarian television.

During its allotted 20 minutes, the Bulgarian Socialist Party (formerly the Communist Party) promised to erect a monument in memory of the victims of political struggles in the country since the end of Ottoman rule in 1878.

The Socialist Party (BSP) is also claiming the support of Defense Minister Dobri Dzhurov, who according to polls is one of Bulgaria's most respected politicians.

The Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), which unites 17 political factions, hit the electoral airwaves with the slogan, "It Is Our Time" as well as criticisms of Mr.Dzhurov's policies as defense minister. The Agrarian Party, the third of Bulgaria's three main parties, did not participate in the media campaign's first round.

The elections, called by President Petur Mladenov earlier this month and set for June 10, are part of the sweeping reforms occurring in the country.

Following similar elections in Hungary and East Germany and preceeding elections in Romania and Czechoslovakia, the Bulgarian elections will determine the political coloration of the Constituant Assembly and lead to the drawing-up of a new constitution.

The political commercials, aired on television Monday and on radio Tuesday, resulted from an all-party agreement to ensure that each is accorded media time to outline its platform.

As part of the agreement, two 45-minute televised debates among the leaders of the three main parties are scheduled for every week of the campaign. The numerous other parties, there are 51 in total, will also be given 10 minutes each on television two weeks before the election.

ASO Independent Election Platform Criticized

AU2504085690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 Apr 90 p 4

[Angel Bonev commentary: "Passions After Holy Week"]

[Text] Easter is over, but the weeks of political passions still lie ahead.

The decision of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO] to participate in the election on an independent ticket, which was announced the day before yesterday, evoked admiration, but also amazed numerous people. Even some representatives of the 70 ASO clubs who

voted in favor of this decision, hesitated and went from full support to categorical rejection. On the same day the leaders of certain ideological currents within the party declared that the decision in question might prompt a dangerous polarization of political forces. Others cautiously warned that whoever is caught in the electric arc between the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] is inevitably doomed to burning. A third group of people interpreted the decision of the faction almost as a new act of treason against the party, which, according to them, undermines the image of its monolithic unity.

It is certain that emotions are expected to escalate even further during the week that is beginning today. Numerous ASO clubs are willing to support BSP candidates as long as they have not disgraced themselves. Other organizations shall democratically include representatives of the ASO faction in the ticket of the BSP. Part of the clubs, however, shall propose their own ticket nominating their own candidates as alternative choices for party members who have disgraced themselves, but who until recently identified themselves with the party and still continue to safeguard their own interests by violating all ideals and principles. It is possible that some primary party organizations might even nominate such people as candidates for the elections.

Which option is preferable?

The answer to this question is to a great extent determined by the accurate assessment of the specific conditions existing in towns, villages, and districts—and this evaluation should be sober, it should, as much as possible, disregard personal preferences and emotions. Personal preferences and emotions are precisely what political leaders should abstain from during the forthcoming weeks. Only the voters on election day can afford to be guided by their emotions. When I say this, I have in mind the calculations which many people are making at this moment, namely: In the first place, they are trying to attract a considerable number of Socialists who did not categorically express their opinions during the referendum on the party's name. In the second place, they are trying to involve a majority of those non-party people who are shocked by the new political language which both the BSP and the UDF are using. The question is: To what extent can the ASO rely on these undecided souls?

The atmosphere in the primary party organizations and municipal party councils will become particularly heated this week. It is possible that some strong political figures on the ASO's independent ticket may win over several votes from the BSP ticket. Considering the heated atmosphere which is expected to further escalate until it reaches its climax on election day, we can also assume that the name of one disgraced candidate on the BSP ticket may jeopardize the chances of the other five to six party candidates, regardless of their personal qualities.

The ASO's stand is categorical: "Let the elections turn into a defeat of corrupted people from the apparatus and the nomenklatura—this shall be our victory!" Nevertheless, I ask myself: "Would all this not be a Pyrrhic victory? Let us hope that the ASO has serious reasons for thinking it would not, because everything else would be self-torture.

I do not believe in political masochism.

BSP Ethics Commission Expels Former Leaders

AU2504080390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Apr 90 p 2

[Darinka Radeva report: "Expelled From BSP"]

[Text] The Central Commission on Party Ethics studied the documents related to the activity of Grisha Filipov, former Politburo member, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Angel Tsanev, former candidate member of the Politburo and minister of internal affairs; Yaroslav Radev, former deputy chairman of the State Council and chairman of the National Assembly Legislative Commission; Atanas Maleev, former chairman of the Medical Academy and first deputy minister of people's health; and Vasil Tsanov, former BCP Central Committee secretary and chairman of the Central Council of the National Agroindustrial Union.

According to the decision of the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress, the commission had to express its opinion on their party status. For many years those people have had responsible posts in the party and the state, and did their share in strengthening Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian system. They are personally responsible for the country's profound economic, social, and political crisis.

Since 20 April they are also former members of the party. Assessing their political responsibility the Central Commission on Party Ethics expelled them from the ranks of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

In addition, the commission reviewed the criticism directed at it, and the objections to its proposal of 13 April 1990 that the primary party organization discuss the party status of former party leaders. The specific names, pointed out by the Central Commission on Party Ethics, were based on the proposals made during the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress, tip-offs and critical notes, letters to the Supreme Party Council and the commission itself, and mass media articles.

During the discussion the opinion was expressed that certain leading cadres should be expelled from the party ranks. In this context the Central Commission on Party Ethics states that it does not have the right to decide what decisions should be adopted by the primary party organizations. It is their prerogative, based on the party charter, to have the final word on all issues related to party membership. The tip-offs and proposals will be sent to them with the recommendation to discuss them profoundly and objectively and adopt just decisions.

Generals Discuss Alliances, Role of Army

AU2304115090 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No. 16, 18 Apr 90 pp 8-9

[Interview with Major General Kamen Petrov, chief of the "Disarmament" Inspectorate of the Bulgarian People's Army General Staff, and Major General Stoyan Andreev, senior scientific fellow and technical sciences candidate, by Tatyana Panova and Vladimir Avramov—place and date not given: "The Warsaw Pact Is No District Organization"]

[Text] [ANTENI] In December 1989, the Ministry of National Defense submitted data on Bulgaria's military budget to the National Assembly. This was the first time this had happened and people were greatly impressed. What is your opinion: Is the envisaged budget sufficient to guarantee our country's security?

[Petrov] Bulgaria is incapable of ensuring its own security by itself. Should we further reduce the military budget? Yes, we should. There is enough to reduce. However, if Bulgaria were to face a confrontation with Turkey, for example, we could by no means cope with the situation without assistance. Never mind, we shall continue to reduce our budget in order to restrict the economic expenditures. As far as our national security is concerned, we should rely on the Warsaw Pact and on our bilateral treaties, especially on those with the Soviet Union.

[ANTENI] All right, redundant troops should be reduced, although— excuse me, but are there really any redundant troops in view of the fact that you just mentioned Turkey yourself. Military expenditures are also expected to be reduced in accordance with the Vienna negotiations. Would it not be more sensible if the financial resources resulting from these reductions should be saved for the military sector, especially for the training of specialists?

[Petrov] No.

[Andreev] Nevertheless, part of the resources saved may be dedicated to the process of conversion from military to civilian industry, as was done in the Soviet Union. Another, rather modest amount is expected to be spent on increasing the wages of Army personnel, on improving their housing conditions, and on Army training and educational tasks. This should decisively stimulate the combat spirit, and hence, the combat readiness of our Armed Forces. Neverthless, I have another problem in mind: A certain portion of the aforementioned resources should be transferred to national economic branches that are of crucial importance for our economic development, and also for our defense. Where should these resources come from? Is it not true that large investments are required for this? We should not take resources from the defense sector and waste them on problems of secondary importance, as has happened on several occasions. Under such circumstances, neither our defense, nor our economic prosperity would be guaranteed.

[ANTENI] We can observe how the USSR and the United States are using different methods and means of persuading their partners to follow them. America is ready to pay those who are standing in the front line. The Brezhnev doctrine of "limited sovereignty," however, was very close to interference. Do you believe that, as a result of the new processes underway in East Europe, the East European Warsaw Pact member states have become more equal in terms of equal rights? Or, if we should use an example, why should Hungary not pay Bulgaria for facing the Second NATO Army? Why should Hungary be free to reduce its military expenditures at its own wish, while we are not entitled to do so?

[Petrov] Let us not talk about Hungary, take Romania for example.

[Andreev] I would like to express a personal opinion. But, first of all, let me point out that the meaning of equal rights has not been clarified. What does equal rights for Warsaw Pact members mean, for example?

[ANTENI] In international relations it means enjoying equal rights for equal interests. A treaty is signed on the basis of common interests.

[Andreev] Talking about real rights and real obligations, this question cannot be interpreted in a formalistic manner. There is a great difference between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and Bulgaria, on the other, between the Soviet Union and Hungary, the GDR, and all the others. As a result of this, considering the different circumstances of each member country, it is hardly justified to apply the principles of equal rights and obligations from a purely legal point of view.

[ANTENI] Does this mean that there are no equal rights within the Warsaw Pact?

[Andreev] We cannot expect a Warsaw Pact session to proceed like a district conference, considering that this organization is dealing with crucial decisions of worldwide importance. It is one thing for Bulgaria to insist that a given problem be resolved, and another thing if the Soviet Union insists on the same decision. Let us stop talking about unity and equality. The time of cliches and slogans is over, let us speak frankly.

[ANTENI] However, is it not true that inequality was concealed behind the slogans throughout all those years?

[Andreev] This is true. The Soviet Union has quite different obligations, but also different rights. Even Poland, because of its large army and its peculiar geopolitical situation, because of its highly developed military equipment and powerful military industry plays a much important role than, let us say Romania, even considering Romania's "more peculiar" views. Rights and obligations are always multiplied on the basis of the importance and of the real role played by individual

Warsaw Pact member states. The same applies to the situation in NATO, as a matter of fact, and to an even greater extent.

[Petrov] During the present disarmament talks in Vienna, for example, we discussed collective ceilings, but we actually maintained proportional participation. Mutual relations within the Warsaw Pact may have developed incorrectly, but we insist that the same proportions should be preserved even after the reductions. The Soviet Union is assuming at least 80 percent of the expenditures for maintaining the balance of power. In other words, the Soviet diktat, even if we should call it a diktat, was justified, considering that the USSR assumed the obligation of the decisive efforts. Neverthless, something else was observed for the first time. At the "open skies" conference in Ottawa I witnessed the following, unique kind of negotiations: The 16 NATO member states submitted a collective draft treaty, while the other side submitted a document on behalf of the Soviet Union alone. This means that the recent events in the East European countries produced a situation under which we, to put it bluntly, sometimes spit at our common Warsaw Pact interests, giving priority to our so-called national interests. We do not realize that we cannot and should not oppose our national interests to the common interests of the alliance. The Western countries understand this requirement very well. For example, they were by no means in a hurry to get ready to sign the documents of the Vienna negotiations. The former round, the fifth one, for example, proceeded in a rather passive, unproductive manner. At the same time, however, as soon as the German issue emerged, the Western countries seemed suddenly in a hurry. It was no coincidence that NATO submitted three documents on the first day of the new round of Vienna negotiations. The goal of signing possible agreements on conventional armed forces was intended to precede Germany's reunification. As you see, political dynamics directly, but controversially, influence negotiations in our countries.

[Andreev] Yes, military realities are emerging against the background of such political changes. In a certain period that lasted almost several months, voices were heard in some places, even in the Soviet Union, in favor of disbanding the Warsaw Pact because it was allegedly unnecessary, and so forth. Innumerable articles were written on this subject in Poland....

[Petrov] Whereas, today, the Poles would not let the Soviet troops withdraw....

[Andreev] Yes, this is precisely so. As soon as German reunification became an issue, the Poles changed their minds, and the Czechs also changed their minds. There is even more: Even smaller NATO countries such as Belgium and the Netherlands, let alone France, showed their concern about an uncertain future. I would not be surprised if Belgium or the Netherlands were to apply for Warsaw Pact membership one day. The current events in Germany are almost getting out of control and are developing in a most erratic manner.

[Petrov] Events are not out of control, but these are internal German problems and the two plus four forum has not yet pronounced its verdict on the question.

[Andreev] What did I mean by my previous remark? It is no coincidence if the FRG's Western allies compare the present development of German events to a train that is not moving according to schedule. This is a very dangerous situation, however, considering that you never know what obstacles this train might meet on its way, and all kinds of disasters are possible. Why? Because, you should not put the cart before the horse. In other words, the political processes in Europe are the basis of hope for all peoples and states on the continent, Bulgaria included. We shall rely not only on the Warsaw Pact, but on the total all-European security mechanism, as long as the necessary guarantees are provided. Germany, however, is putting strong pressure on this process and demanding that the European processes should be coordinated with the German processes. This should not be allowed! Not only because the Warsaw Pact member states are against it, but also because the European NATO member states are also opposed to it.

[ANTENI] It is perhaps high time to dwell on our own security problems. Is it still the case that no great attention is paid to Bulgaria at the Vienna negotiations?

[Petrov] I must say that the concept on the basis of which the Vienna negotiations are currently conducted is generally acceptable for all our countries, NATO member states included. However, despite all our efforts in the past, we could not prevent attention at the Vienna talks being focused on Central Europe. Romania's attitude is passive. Romania signed the Stockholm document, for example, but has not sent inspectors anywhere so far.

[ANTENI] Why?

[Petrov] Because of financial and other considerations. The question of what we, Bulgarians, should do now, is now more pressing than ever. We should find a way to include the flank states in the total system of guarantees, even if that should mean for us to propose signing bilateral treaties with Turkey and Greece.

[ANTENI] Permit me to ask you a somewhat provocative question. As we know, the Turkish Army is enormous, but the territory of this neighbor country is also very large. In addition to this, Turkey's border with Bulgaria only represents a small portion of the total length of the Turkish border line. Should we not suspect some kind of speculation with the data about the Turkish army, which is not only deployed against us?

[Petrov] No, there is no question of speculation, and I am very serious about it. Turkey possesses four armies: One is deployed against Syria and Iraq, another against the Soviet Union, and another one—namely their most powerful army—is deployed against Eastern Thracia. The fourth army is stationed behind the Bosphorus, and serves as a second echelon. Hence, we have serious reasons for concern.

[ANTENI] Why should the military budget be reduced under such circumstances? Would it not be appropriate for the other Warsaw Pact member states, which are not facing such immediate threats, to assist us in our defense efforts? Did we not agree on the point that no European state is capable of guaranteeing its own security?

[Andreev] In the first place, this is not realistic....

[Petrov] Let me add something else. People demand that the Soviet Union should be responsible for everything. In the case of the "open skies" project, for example, the Western countries accepted that approximately 160-170 observation flights should be carried out annually over their territories and insisted that the Warsaw Pact members should accept the same quota. Neverthless, considering that there are only seven socialist countries, the Soviet Union, which is the only large Warsaw Pact member state had to accept the largest quota. It was quite easy for the Czechoslovak representative to get up and say: "I propose that the Soviet Union should accept this quota, while the West should provide us with the equipment." We are always eager to demand our rights, but sometimes forget our obligations.

[Andreev] If things should develop this way, we cannot guarantee our sufficient security within the framework of the currently existing and operating military-political alliances. This is impossible. One way, or another, both the Warsaw Pact and NATO are changing under the pressure of the stormy events under way in Europe. If all attention is focused on the military, military-political, and economic problems of Central Europe today, and if they should be resolved to some extent in the coming months, the attention and efforts of the Soviet Union, of the United States, and of all Europe should next be focused on the regions beyond Central Europe. For this reason, I am profoundly convinced that the problems related to the Balkans and the Northern countries shall be discussed and resolved one by one. The North European NATO member states have numerous problems which are similar to ours and could be our allies in such efforts. The Vienna mechanism might be newly applied, but in a different direction.

[ANTENI] How do you imagine this?

[Andreev] I do not intend to make any forecasts. However, we could sign a mulitlateral agreement among the Balkan states, or we could also sign bilateral agreements between Bulgaria and Turkey, and Bulgaria and Greece, or we could also sign a bilateral agreement with Albania only—a possibility that has recently emerged—and this would be very useful. The situation as it exists today, can no longer continue, because it is really unstable and hopeless. We lived through such an experience during the crisis with Turkey, and realized what it means to be a frontline nation and to have no guarantees to rely upon that could be implemented within days, or weeks!

[ANTENI] Our country needs its own, personal prestige, but in what area: Military, political, economic, or social? What would you prefer?

[Andreev] I would give priority to the problems which we cannot resolve by ourselves. Minister Dzhurov, for example, pointed out at the National Assembly, that we are unable to resolve the problems of our military security. This means that these problems should be resolved within the framework of some alliance and on the basis of certain international guarantees. For this reason I would give preference to political steps in the forthcoming months. However, I would by no means underestimate the military aspects. This is so, because we are simultaneolusly reducing our budgets, the number of our armed troops, and the quantity of various types of weapons, and so forth. However, we should not forget one thing: By taking advantage of the achievements of technical progress and science, we should preserve their combat potential. So far, we were reluctant to openly declare this to the world. Protests were even voiced in this connection at a certain moment in our military press. People wrote: "This situation should not be allowed. We are reducing the combat potentials of our armies." USSR Professor Kireyev in one of his recent articles wrote that by reducing military forces and applying the results of basically new research, we should increase the combat potential of certain branches of the Armed Forces up to 1.5 times. The quality factors which are frequently mentioned should become a real part of our balance of military forces.

[Petrov] Let me make one additioanl remark. Under all circumstances, the conventional arms treaty is expected to be signed by the new government and approved by the new parliament. Hard times are awaiting us if the ruling forces and the opposition do not share the same views on the guarantee of our national security.

[ANTENI] Yes, this is a very important issue, indeed, and we fully agree with you on this point, but, as military experts, do you have the feeling that this unanimity exists, or do you sense any obstacles on part of the opposition, at this very moment?

[Andreev] I do not know what to say, but I am a bit isolated for the time being, and it would not be correct on my part to describe my feelings as facts. I think that the opposition has not dealt with this issue yet. All its recent actions, however, do not suggest that its efforts are aimed at supporting Bulgaria's national security.

[Petrov] I would say the same on the basis of my contacts with Koshlukov's students, for example. We had numerous disagreements with them on the question of discipline and civil defense. If you are a Bulgarian, no matter what your opinions are, you should not question Bulgaria's existence. In this context, I think that it is not only a question of resources, because the state will provide the resources for the protection of our security.

[ANTENI] However, you cannot deny the existence of certain unnecessary things and certain shortcomings in the Army?

[Petrov] Everything that happens in society is reflected in the army, but to a considerably lesser extent. Can we

explain why Dzhurov is the most popular public figure in Bulgaria? Is it on account of his personality, or on account of the institution he is heading? Both reasons are valid, I think. As a result of his correct leadership, the Army as a whole preserved the positions which justify the Bulgarian people's choice. On the other hand, however, we cannot deny certain shortcomings which we are responsible for. Perhaps we were not farsighted enough in developing our political concepts. Nevertheless, the Army is an institution which should not be irresponsibly infringed upon.

Defense Minister Proposes Army Service Reduction

AU2504090990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Apr 90 p 1

[BTA report: "Proposal of Minister of National Defense to Reduce Length of Military Service"]

[Text] Recently journalists and individual citizens have been using the mass media to express considerations related to the development of the Bulgarian People's Army.

At the National Assembly and in various interviews, I and other responsible military leaders have repeatedly clarified many aspects of the state, training, and development of the Armed Forces, including the Bulgarian People's Army.

I would like to stress again that issues related to the Army must be approached in a careful, responsible, and competent manner, while noting the exceptionally complex military-strategic factors and the realities of our time. This is so because we are dealing with an institution that protects Bulgaria's national security and sovereignty, and with conditions relating to the peaceful transition toward rule of law, and a democratic, humane society.

Improving the structure of the Bulgarian People's Army and the length of regular military service have always attracted the attention of the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense. In connection with the initiative of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, presented by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Party Council, in his 11 April TV interview, and the purposeful proposals published in the mass media, Petur Mladenov, president of the Republic, instructed me to deal with the issue of reducing the length of service in the Armed Forces.

On the basis of my instructions, the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army is preparing a proposal to reduce, as of October 1990, the military service of regular soldiers in the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria from 24 to 18 months. This will also affect those who were recruited in March and September 1989, and January and March 1990. Soldiers will be recruited twice a year—in September and March. The proposal will be reported to the president of the republic, and the public will be duly informed after the proposal becomes a law.

War Veterans Protest Anti-Soviet Demonstrations

AU2504102290 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Apr 90 p 3

["Declaration" issued by the Central Council of the Union of Participants in the Fatherland War; place and date not given: "There Is No Place for Anti-Sovietism!"]

[Text] The Central Council of the Union of Participants in the Fatherland War shares the alarm of millions of our compatriots. On 17 April in Sofia and Varna initiators succeeded in attracting small groups of students and citizens to take part in unprecedented and undignified demonstrations against the Soviet Union. Those demonstrations were an illegal and malicious interference in the internal political life of a great country that has always been our motherland's firmest support, and which is today implementing the fateful historical mission of the noble renewal of the atmosphere in Europe and the world. Nobody wins, but we all lose as a result of such demonstrations.

We firmly declare to those small and insignificant groups, which could have the audacity to undermine the life-saving Bulgarian-Soviet friendship in future, that they will encounter worthy resistance, and reap only shame and contempt. The painful experience of the Bulgarian people has taught them to cherish the fraternal alliance with the great Russian people and all Soviet nations.

Macedonian Nationalism Campaign Denounced

AU2404131490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 Apr 90 p 2

[Unattributed "editorial note"]

[Text] A fifth column already exists in Bulgaria, and this is by no means exaggerated. Whenever a group of citizens in a given country organizes with the intention of serving the interests of a foreign state, it is generally accepted to define such a group of people as fifth columnists. This is exactly the case.

Several months ago a Bulgarian from the Radomir area declared himself a "Macedonian" and adopted the "Macedonian" name of Georgi Solunski. He claims to be the leader of an organization which dares to call itself "Ilinden," having disgracefully usurped the name of an uprising which the Bulgarians in Macedonia organized for the purpose of fighting for their freedom and for their annexation to the Bulgarian motherland.

A group of Bulgarian scholars, in a letter to our daily which was published on 21 April 1990, informed us in detail about the goals of Solunski's supporters and about their intentions of declaring part of the Bulgarian population as "Macedonian" at a time when people—even in

the Socialist Republic of Macedonia—openly admit that "the Macedonian nation is a product of the Comintern." The supporters of Macedonianism [Makedonisti] recently held a pathetic little demonstration in the streets of Sofia. Nevertheless, their lack of success did not discourage them. A convenient occurrence came to their rescue, namely, the action of certain other Bulgarian political parties and organizations, which held the official anniversary celebration for Yane Sandanski at the Rozhen Monastery one day earlier than was scheduled, and this worked in their favor. Realizing that thousands of the "Pirin King's" admirers would gather again to celebrate his birthday, the lackeys of Macedonianism manipulated the people's rally into their own election meeting by taking advantage of the total absence of opponents from other parties and organizations. Thus, the crowd was forced to listen to the preposterous claims for the national rights of a nonexistent Macedonian minority in Bulgaria.

DUMA has already written that the "Ilinden" organization is Macedonianist with regard to its political orientation and separatist with regard to its nature, and that, hence, it has no place in our country's sociopolitical life. Its official registration is totally unjustified and the organization in question should actually be subject to the sanctions of Bulgarian legislation. It is not entitled to exist either as a public or as a cultural-educational organization.

No matter how much the supporters of Macedonianism are trying to undermine Bulgaria's national integrity and insult both the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Union of Democratic Forces for the unanimity with which they denounce such acts of national treason, the actions of the aforementioned group can only be defined as treason against the state, and we know that history has condemned national treason since time immemorial.

As far as the direct organizers of the unlawful anti-Bulgarian gathering are concerned, they should be subject to the most severe legal sanctions.

Discovery of Mass Graves Stirs Debate

AU2404144690

[Editorial Report] Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian on 23 April on page 1 carries a 400-word open letter by correspondent Dilyan Todorov on his attitude toward the mass grave discovered at Dobrinishte, and devotes the whole of page 4, under the heading "The Grave Near Dobrinishte Village Contains No Innocent Victims" to materials, totaling 4,000 words, on the mass grave issue, including the following:

a) a 3,000-word article by Boyka Asiova and Kipra Dobreva entitled "Political Speculations With the Bones of Fascism";

b) a 200-word letter from retired partisan commander General Krum Radonov; and

c) a 500-word report on the anti-partisan activities carried out in the 20 years up to 9 September 1944 by the fascist Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), with a 12.5 by 11 cm photograph of exhumed bones captioned: "Bones of victims of the 'Ivan Mikhaylov' IMRO from 1925, found near the village of Krupnik."

In his page 1 open letter to an unnamed " member of the Union of Democratic Forces" [UDF], Dilyan Todorov explains that, when invited at a UDF rally held on 18 April in Sofia to pay respects to the memory of the victims whose remains were discovered near Dobrinishte, he failed to kneel simply because he "does not know who the dead are." Todorov says he is willing to pay respect "on one condition, that I know the truth,...when I am sure that they do not include the corpses of those who tortured my father at the police station for months on end, and who held him in Vratsa Prison without trial or sentence for almost a year, until 8 September 1944."

In their page 5 article, Asiova and Dobreva begin by criticizing "the tendentious reports in the press" on the discovery of the mass grave near Dobrinishte, quoting, for example, Sofia TRUD of 17 April as stating that the grave was part of "the red terror that engulfed the country immediately after 9 September 1944." The authors then point out that the remains were not found, as reported in the media, in the hideout of the partisan Ivan Kozarev, but that the site was excavated by the partisans for use as an ammunition dump and never used by Kozarev.

The authors further allege that "if the bones of the intelligentsia of Razlog do lie in the grave near Dobrinishte,..." then they belong to people "whose hands are stained with the blood of the people's partisans, the Communists—who have been proven by history to have been the strongest opponents of Fascism." They support this thesis with sample "archive information" on 10 members of the Razlog intelligentsia recorded to have fought and killed partisans as members of IMRO or when working with the police and fascist organizations up to September 1944.

The authors then present brief accounts from 14 ex-partisans, local partisan supporters and other local people of the events in the Razlog region in 1944. The ex-partisans are unanimous in claiming that the bones belong to local Fascists executed by the partisans. For example, partisan Ivan Topalov is quoted as stating: "The people who are presumed to have been killed near Dobrinishte are all outright Fascists. They were sentenced by the partisan detachment." Statements from other local people are also presented describing how their fathers and other male relatives were seized by partisans and disappeared during 1944 and 1945.

The authors conclude that the "noisy 'discovery' made by the UDF in Bansko did not surprise the local population, and that was not its aim. It is aimed at unsettling Bulgaria before the elections." They urge burying the atrocities of the distant past.

This sentiment is echoed by retired General Krum Radonov, partisan commander of the Fourth Insurrection Zone. In his letter he describes the grim situation in 1944, "at the culmination of the fascist terror, the war against the people" that had lasted more than 20 years. He also states that "those condemned and shot at the time do not include any persons innocent and not involved in grievous bloody crimes against their own people," and urges that "we should leave the civil war there, at the point when it ended."

Two New Mass Graves Found in Northern Bulgaria

AU2404193790 Sofia BTA in English 1733 GMT 24 Apr 90

["Yet Another Mass Grave"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 24 (BTA)—A mass grave has been unearthed on a tip-off from the Union of Democratic Forces three kilometers to the east of the village of Kozarevets near Gorna Oryakhovitsa (northern Bulgaria). On an area of five square meters, some 60 centimeters beneath the surface the diggers found 14 skulls, the remains of skeletons, fragments of clothes and footwear, spectacles, a fountain pen, erasers, an ink pencil, spent cartridges and bullets. There are signs of burning on the bones.

Another grave was dug out today near the first one. It also contains remains of human skeletons.

Several other mass graves are supposed to exist in this place. According to rumors, a large number of people were killed without charge or trial in the period between September 17 and 19, 1944.

Preliminary investigative proceedings have been instituted in the case.

Pazardzhik Prison Strike Ends, Order Restored

AU2404193990 Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 24 (BTA)—Fifty-two of the striking inmates had voluntarily climbed down from the roof of the prison in the town of Pazardzhik by noon today, the deadline for reflection set by the authorities. After that, measures were taken to restore order and the remaining 30 strikers were returned to their cells by 4:30 p.m. with the assistance of the forces of the Regional Internal Affairs Directorate.

Bulgaria Described as Source of Computer Viruses

AU2404110090 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Apr 90 p 4

[L. Mitakev report: "At World Level?"]

[Text] Bonn, 19 April—Almost 70 of the 140 known computer viruses originate in Bulgaria, Prof. Klaus Brunnstein, director of the "Virus Test" Center and a world-known expert on computer systems' security from Hamburg University, said to the BTA reporter.

Unlike Rainer Schultz, his colleague from the special "Computer Viruses" Working Group at the GDR Government, Prof. Brunnstein does not think that the West is threatened by a wave of viruses which come from Bulgaria.

Indeed, many viruses come from East Europe and especially Bulgaria, but they are not as dangerous as those that exist in the West. The "Dark Avenger" and "Vaccine" viruses that come from Bulgaria and could be the pride of any computer programmer, are the only exceptions. In most cases the viruses are created by ambitious young persons, determined to prove that for once in their life they can create something unique, he said.

Recently, Rainer Schultz, expert in computer systems' security, writing in the NACHRICHTEN special publication of the Union of German Engineers which appears in Dusseldorf, sounded the alarm that the West is being threatened by a wave of viruses, that come predominately from Bulgaria.

Prof. Klaus Brunnstein thinks that data processing and programming in Bulgaria are exceptionally developed for a country of such a size. He maintains constant contacts with computer equipment security experts from our country. Recently he received a letter from Blagovest Sendov, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, with a proposal to cooperate. Prof. Brunnstein has been a professor at Hamburg University since 1972 and is positively disposed toward Bulgarian scholars, such as Academician Iliev and Academician Sendov. I hope that positive cooperation with your country will continue in the future, for our part, we shall make certain specific proposals, the Professor said.

The "Virus Test" Center thinks that if a wave of viruses develops, it will follow a different direction—from the West to the East. For example, the GDR still does not have a sufficient network of computers, and this serves as an obstacle to the spread of viruses. However, with the opening to the West the stream will come from the West, the "Virus Test" Center director maintains.

In conclusion Prof. Klaus Brunnstein pointed out that broad international cooperation, in which Bulgaria actively participates, is a prerequisite for stopping the wave of computer viruses. He said in this context that in June at Humboldt University in Berlin, a world-known company, together with the "Virus Test" Center, will demonstrate various viruses, which will be rendered harmless after being identified.

Investigation of Suicides in Kurdzhali Urged

AU2504101890 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 20 Apr 90 p 2

[Stoyko Stoyanov report: "Suicides' Season"]

[Text] Statistics published by the Kurdzhali Investigation Department show that the region leads the country in number of suicides. Several dozen suicides are registered annually in the region. The spring months are the most active. Some 90 percent of the cases involve suicide by hanging.

According to the specialists of the local psychiatric clinic the number of people with previously established psychiatric disorders among those who commit suicide is not great but, nevertheless, the issue was already studied several years ago. However, the conclusions of the incomplete research done in the past have been restricted for "official use only", and have not been made known to the public or other interested bodies.

The tenacity of this phenomenon requires a new study to be carried out with the participation of specialists from various areas.

Havel, Delegation Depart for Israel 25 Apr

LD2504082190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0700 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, left today [25 April] for a three-day official visit to Israel at the invitation of Hayim Herzog, president of Israel.

The Czechoslovak president is accompanied by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier; adviser Alexander Vodra; Karel Schwarzenberg, chairman of a board of consultants; (Milos Pojar) the newly appointed ambassador of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic to Israel; and other personalities.

Israeli Reportage

WA2504120490

For Israeli reportage on President Vaclav Havel's visit to Israel, including talks between Havel and Israeli leaders and Havel's statements on offering Czechoslovakia as a transit station for Soviet Jews immigrating to Israel, see the Israel section of the 25 April Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT.

Havel Views Background to Ties With Israel

LD2404121290 Prague CTK in English 0914 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 24 (CTK)—The visit of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to Israel on April 25-27 opens a new phase in the two countries' relations that dropped from unambiguous support for the Zionist state in 1967 to breaking off any relations during the past forty years.

The Czechoslovak president's visit to Israel is his second overseas. In February, Vaclav Havel visited Canada and the United States.

Vaclav Havel's visit to Jerusalem was preceded by a visit of Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat to Czechoslovakia on April 12-13, during which the host assured him that "Czechoslovakia wants to continue humanitarian assistance to the Palestinian people both in the form of granting scholarships and medical treatment".

"The resumption of relations with Israel does in no way mean that we intend to reduce the significance of our relations with the Arab countries....We do not want therefore to be either [an] uncritical ally of any of the parties involved in the conflict or an impartial observer of the continuing wrongdoings in this part of the world. We want to pursue a balanced policy in the relation to all sides involved in the conflict. We strive for its political settlement respecting both the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and the right of Israel to a peaceful and secure development", Vaclav Havel said.

Yasir 'Arafat asked the Czechoslovak president to strive for reopening of Arab universities on the occupied Palestinian territory. He pointed out "historic, third-party and moral duty" of Czechoslovakia to the human rights of Palestinians and Jews as it was one of the eleven states that asserted the division of Palestinian in the United Nations.

He thus pointed out that Czechoslovakia fully supported the establishment of the State of Israel after World War Two as well as after the communists came to power in February 1948. In 1948, the communist government sent some 3,000 armed volunteers after six- months' training to help the Israeli government. They were mostly members of the Communist Party and that is why the then Israeli premier Ben-Gurion disarmed them and dissolved after they arrived. A sharp change in Czechoslovakia's policy towards Israel occurred after 1952 when a trial against leading functionaries of the Communist Party, mostly Jews, including General Secretary Rudolf Slansky, took place in Prague, with emphasis on anti-Semitism. In 1967, diplomatic relations between the two countries were quite broken off with reference to the Israeli-Arab conflict.

Vaclav Havel, already in his new year's speech, called for establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel. On February 9 1990, they were reestablished during the visit of Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens to Prague.

Vaclav Havel gave these aspects for the renewal of relations: "the rich tradition of Jewish culture in the Czech lands and Slovakia, in which Prague played a role of a crossroad, an important role which was played by Czechoslovakia during the birth of the State of Isarel, openness and activity of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy and finally the realities of the present world. All that led us to the conviction that it is necessary to revive normal diplomatic relations with Israel, Vaclav Havel said in his speech at the dinner given in honour of Yasir 'Arafat. [no end quotation marks as received]

First Israeli Diplomat Installed Since 1967

AU2404192090 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 21 Apr 90 p 2

[Text] In connection with the resumption of diplomatic ties between Czechoslovakia and Israel, Efram Tari, who has taken over the post of ad interim charge d'affaires of his country in Czechoslovakia, recently arrived in Czechoslovakia. He is the first Israeli diplomatic representative in Czechoslovakia since these ties were severed in 1967.

24 Apr Prague Demonstration Supports Lithuania

LD2404220390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] The latest in a number of demonstrations in support of Lithuanian independence took place today [24 April] in front of the office of the Federal Government Presidium [in Prague]. The organizers wanted to draw the ministers' attention to the fact that in view of

the increasingly serious situation, more emphatic support for Lithuania must be demonstrated, and international political measures must be taken that reflect the attitudes of the Czechoslovak public.

Lithuanian Separatists 'Threat' to Global Security

AU2504081390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Apr 90 p 5

[Article by Karol Ducak, member of the Christian-Social Union in Slovakia Preparatory Committee: "A Threat Called Sajudis"]

[Text] Contemporary political events in the world, first and foremost in Europe, immediately concern every single one of us. Therefore, we cannot remain indifferent to the political situation in Lithuania. I am a supporter of the principle of federalism, that is, of every nation's right to self-determination, but within the framework of the existing internationally recognized territorial structures. Current international military and political stability is founded on the sovereignty of and balance between the strategic forces of the two global superpowers—the United States and the USSR. The considerable weakening of one of these powers will inevitably lead to a breach of this balance and to the destabilization of the global military and political balance. The Lithuanian separatist movement could set a very dangerous precedent, could lead to the breakup of the USSR, and could endanger international political stability.

I definitely cannot deny the people of Lithuania their right to self-determination, but, in the interest of finding a rational solution to this complex situation, Lithuania's leading representatives should abandon their extremist demands.

Lithuania's secession from the USSR could be the avalanche that might engulf not only the Soviet Union but, I fear, might also shake the foundations of the European home, a home that is being established with difficulty.

Figures on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

AU2404170590

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 21 April on page 3, under the headline "Farewell to Arms," carries a 300-word report on the number of Soviet troops who have, so far, been withdrawn from Czechoslovakia.

Details of the withdrawal were provided by Major General Svetozar Nadovic, commander of the Federal Ministry of National Defense Administration for Guaranteeing the Withdrawal of Soviet Forces From Czechoslovakia.

According to the article, "10,761 Soviet troops and 7,303 civilians have already departed from the CSFR. Two hundred and forty-five tanks, 534 armored combat vehicles, 3,134 trucks, 130 mortars and artillery, 91 combat helicopters, and 18 missile launching systems have also been withdrawn." Before the end of May, 25,800 soldiers and civilians should return to the USSR. This is 35 percent of the overall number of Soviet personnel stationed in the CSFR.

Soviet Withdrawal Oversight Group Visits Milovice

LD2404224790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] The parliamentary commission supervising the withdrawal of Soviet troops today visited the Soviet military town of Milovice, where 11,000 inhabitants allegedly live. Apart from quarters housing the families of Soviet Army personnel, it has a comprehensive infrastructure. It will therefore be up to our responsible authorities to decide on the optimal future of the whole compound. According to Lieutenant General Vorobyev, more than 35 percent of the military personnel, including family members, should leave Milovice by the end of May. The general also confirmed that all Soviet troop movements during the free elections will cease totally and as early as 12 May military activity in Czechoslovakia will be substantially restricted.

Visits Mlada Boleslav

LD2404211190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] The mixed parliamentary commission for the supervision of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the CSFR today held its itinerant session in Mlada Boleslav. The deputies spoke with town and district representatives about clearing up damage caused by the 20-year stay of Soviet troops in our country, the distribution of the vacated areas, and the final withdrawal of troops from Mlada Boleslav. Concerning these issues, an official from the Ministry of National Defense, Major General Svetozar Nadovic [chief of Directorate for Supervision of the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops] said:

[Begin Nadovic recording] The 18th Artillery Division, which is stationed in Mlada Boleslav and the district, begins withdrawal in December of this year and ends in February 1991. I would like to point out, however, that the Soviet side is being helpful and that already 200 soldiers are leaving Mlada Boleslav, 190 soldiers are leaving Bohosudov, 165 soldiers are leaving Rokytnice, 198 are leaving Zakupy, 188 are leaving Hvezdov and Mimon, 165 are leaving Kurivody—a total of 1,006 [number as heard] are leaving in the near future. I think that this is generally a genuine attitude and what our public wanted.

As far as property is concerned I can assure representatives of the Mlada Boleslav district that the CSFR Army is only interested in three properties. We are interested in the motor fuel store Hejtmanka and the Engelsova large store and small store. All other properties will be handed over to the civilian sector. [end recording]

Final List of Parties Running in Jun Elections

AU2404112090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Apr 90 pp 1,4

["CTK, vy"-signed report: "The CPCZ Is Number 10; 23 Parties, Movements, and Coalitions Participate in the Elections"]

[Text] Prague/Bratislava— The Central Electoral Commission held its second meeting in the Knights' Hall of Valdstejn Palace in Prague yesterday [19 April]. Representatives of the Czech and Slovak Electoral Commissions also participated in the meeting, which was chaired by Zdenek Zahorsky, the commission's chairman. The main item on the agenda was the drawing of numbers for the lists of candidates of the political parties, movements, and coalitions that will participate in elections to the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council, and the Slovak National Council.

A total of 23 political parties, movements, and coalitions will run in the free elections. The Czechoslovak Social Democracy and the Social Democratic Party [in Slovakia] agreed on a single list of candidates, called the Social Democracy. The ethnic minorities agreed to form a coalition; they will be running under the common name Egyutteles [Hungarian for "coexistence"]—Spoluzitie [Slovak for "coexistence]—Wspolnota [Polish for "community"]—Souziti [Czech for "coexistence"], Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement.

As Pavol Fabian, chairman of the Slovak Electoral Commission, told journalists after yesterday's session of the Slovak Electoral Commission, 16 political parties, movements, and coalitions will be running in the elections in the Slovak Republic, each of them under the drawn number. The National Liberals and the Slovak National Heritage Foundation will not participate in the elections—the National Liberals because they did not meet the conditions set by the law, and the Slovak National Heritage Foundation because it withdrew its candidacy at the last moment.

The following numbers were determined by lot for the lists of candidates of political parties, political movements, and coalitions participating in the elections to the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council, and the Slovak National Council:

1. Freedom Party;
2. Democratic Party;
3. Czechoslovak Socialist Party;
4. Civil Liberties' Movement;
5. Public Against Violence;
6. Free Bloc (Party of Constitutional Democracy, Party of Free Democrats, Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality, Republican Union);
7. Civic Forum;
8. Coalition of the All-People's Democratic Party and the Association for the Republic—Republican Party of Czechoslovakia;
9. Electoral Alliance of Interest Groups in the Czech Republic;
10. Communist Party of Czechoslovakia;
11. Alliance of Agrarians and the Countryside (Political Movement of Members of United Agricultural Cooperatives, Czechoslovak Agricultural Party, Republican Party of the Czechoslovak Countryside, Party of the Moravian Countryside, Czechoslovak Party of Integration, Countrywide Citizens' Caucus [Celostatny aktiv obcanov], Movement of Senior Citizens for Social Guarantees, Movement for the Equal Status of Women in Bohemia and Moravia, Party of Free Democrats);
12. Egyutteles—Spoluzitie—Wspolnota—Souziti, Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement;
13. Czechoslovak Democratic Forum;
14. Romanies (Democratic Union of Romanies Party, Party for the Integration of Romanies in Slovakia);
15. Organization of Independent Romanians;
16. Slovak National Party;
17. Christian Democratic Movement;
18. Green Party;
19. Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding;
20. Movement for Self-Governing Democracy—Society for Moravia and Silesia;
21. Social Democracy;
22. Party of the Friends of Beer;
23. Christian and Democratic Union (Czechoslovak People's Party, Christian Democratic Party, Christian Democratic Movement).

The political parties, movements, and coalitions listed under Nos. 4, 7, 9, 15, 20, 22, and 23 are running only in the Czech Republic elections to the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council.

[Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 20 April on page 1 carries a 500-word CTK list of parties participating in the June parliamentary elections; the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE report makes a distinction between the Party of Free Democrats listed as part of the Free Bloc (No. 6) and the Party of Free Democrats listed as part of the "Alliance of Agrarians and the Countryside" (No. 11). The party running as part of the Free Bloc is rendered as "Strana svobodnych demokratu" (Czech for "Party of Free Democrats") while the party running as part of the Alliance of Agrarians and the Countryside is rendered as "Strana slobodnych demokratov" (Slovak for "Party of Free Democrats"). The Czech and Slovak organizations of this party thus seem to have opted for different coalition partners]

Czechs, Slovaks Polled on Election Preferences

LD2404184290 Prague CTK in English 1415 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 24 (CTK)—Sixty-three per cent of Czechoslovak citizens are decided to cast their vote in the elections to the Czechoslovak parliament, the Czech and the Slovak National Councils in June, according to the results of a public opinion poll conducted by the Public Opinion Institute here on March 27-April 4.

Thirty one per cent hesitate and two per cent do not want to take part at all. Almost one fifth of those decided or hesitating do not know so far which of the 23 parties, movements or coalitions registered for the elections to vote for.

Representative of the Institute Jan Herzmann told newsmen here today that, according to the outcome of five public opinion polls performed by the institute from November 1989, people are not quite familiar with the political parties, while at the end of 1989 (November, December) most people linked their hopes for the future with parties and movements which had not appeared on the Czechoslovak political scene till November 1989 (the Civic Forum, Social Democratic Party). At present, traditional parties established earlier have a greater influence, Mr Herzmann said.

According to the pre-election poll, 21 per cent of Czech citizens would vote for the Civic Forum and 15 per cent for the Christian and Democratic Union (the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Christian Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Movement in Slovakia). The balance of forces in Slovakia is just the opposite—the Christian and Democratic Union would win about 26 per cent of votes and the Public Against Violence 14 per cent. Jan Herzmann pointed out in this connection that the Christian Democratic coalition was getting support from the public mainly for its moderate policy.

Jan Herzmann continued that 33 per cent of citizens think the strongest party will be the Civic Forum, 17 per cent expect some of the parties included in the Christian and Democratic Union to be the strongest, and nine per cent hold the view that the greatest chances are on the side of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

The Public Opinion Institute conducts public opinion polls as a state institution not dependent on the political parties and movements with the aim to show a momentary situation in public opinion and register its development. There will be another five public opinion polls by the elections on June 8, which will be followed by those prepared for the second half of June concerning response to the elections among Czechoslovak citizens.

Miners Demonstrate for Social Demands 19 Apr

AU2504094290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Apr 90 pp 1,2

["Roundup" of RUDE PRAVO correspondents' reports: "Miners' Solidarity; Demonstrations in Support of Social Demands"]

[Text] Most, Ostrava, Brno, Kosice (from our correspondents)— Miners and other working people staged demonstrations [manifestacni mitinky] at many places in the republic on Thursday [19 April] in support of the demands that the social and health care commission of the Trade Union of Mining, Geology, and Oil Industry Workers submitted to the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, to the [Czech and Slovak] ministries of health, and to the Federal Ministry of Fuels and Power.

The demands concern, among other things, a reduction of miners' retirement age to 50 years, a ban on work in underground mines for anyone under the age of 21, and a reduction in the number of shifts worked in underground mines from the present 4,600 to around 3,000, which is equivalent to around 15 years of work underground.

The rally in Most was attended by some 1,500 workers of the North Bohemian brown coal basin. They fully endorsed demands for the miners' improved social security. At the same time they voiced support for the Federal Government of National Understanding in the difficult task of renewing our economy which it faces.

"We do not want to create tension and cheap sensations, nor do we want to present inordinate demands. We only want to draw attention to the need for society to partially make amends for what it owes miners." These words were heard at a demonstration of the employees of the Ostrava-Karvina coal basin in Ostrava. The participants in the gathering, which was organized by the Association of Health- Impaired Miners together with the coordinating trade union body of the Ostrava-Karvina mines, expect that the first package of their demands will be met by 15 July, as promised by the federal government.

A similar demonstration by workers of the Rosice-Oslavany coal mines was held the same day at the Banik Zbysov stadium near Brno.

Miners of the Ore Mines, too, organized a rally in support of their social demands. It was held before the House of Culture in Spisska Nova Ves. They were joined by the staff of the Mining Engineering Works, Geological Surveying, Uranium Industry, and other enterprises. The employees of the Slovak Magnesite Works Kosice and of the magnesite mines and processing plants in Jelsava and Lubenik also staged demonstrations.

Paper Calls on Interior Minister Sacher To Resign

AU2404131390 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 20 Apr 90 p 1

[Letter from Jan Dus, LIDOVE NOVINY commentator, to Interior Minister Richard Sacher; date not given: "To Richard Sacher, LLD"]

[Text] Mr. Minister! In your interview for LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE of 18 April, you state correctly that "the democratic development in our country is threatened." This was confirmed the same day by newspapermen at a news conference organized by Jan Kozlik and Radovan Prochazka, the two deputy chairmen of the Central Civic Commission operating at the Federal Ministry of Interior, when they spoke about Sachergate! In another country such a minister would have fallen long ago. Viliam Ciklamini, your first deputy, described what it

means when someone has deputies of a legislative body screened. By obtaining secret information on their past, he gains personal control over those who are compromised. In other words, only the deputies themselves could issue a legal order to screen deputies. You issued this order of your own free will. You deny this, but if I were to believe you, Dr. Ciklamini, Zdenek Formanek [chairman of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy], and many others would have to be liars. You even charged Major Novotny with carrying out the screening of deputies, a person whose negative past is so widely known that you should have removed him from the ministry right after assuming office. When, after a sleepless night, your first deputy conveyed to you his consternation over your incredible deed, you asked the government that he be recalled, showing that you remain loyal to your style of falsely accusing your serious critics. The danger is great that Major Novotny has already passed the secret information about deputies to internal but also foreign enemies. You bear full political responsibility and are fully liable under the criminal law for this threat to state security. You should not be forcing the Czechoslovak prosecuting bodies to take action against you while you are still minister. By swiftly resigning from your public posts you would ease matters for the brothers and sisters in your political party, the federal premier, the president of the republic, and everyone else whose trust you have so incomprehensibly misused.

Civic Forum on Possible Sacher Resignation

AU2404131690 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[J. Smid report: "Warning Against Danger"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted on Civic Forum's stand on the Prague Prosecutor's letter concerning the legality of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] At a news conference yesterday afternoon, Jan Urban, representative of the Council of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, commented on another sensitive problem which has caused a stir among public opinion—the conflict within the Federal Ministry of Interior, related to the possible recall of Minister Richard Sacher from his post. J. Urban said that the Civic Forum was not, and is not, concerned with Minister Sacher or his deputies but with the ministerial department as such. Its concerns are that the process of internal cleansing is proceeding slowly, that the screenings take too much time, and that before being taken into custody some Ministry of Interior officials had plenty of time to remove important documents. The fact is that the dispute within the ministry has been kept secret from the public for a rather long time and that ultimately it has assumed the form of a personal conflict between the minister and two of his deputies. Parliament will have the last say in this matter. It will also receive the general prosecutor's office's report as a basis for its decision. The view of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center is that if the minister really ordered the screening of parliamentary deputies, he should be recalled. [passage omitted]

Charter 77 Condemns 'Campaign' Against 2 Members

LD2404201290 Prague CTK in English 1850 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 24 (CTK)—The view that the criticism of two members of the human-rights organization Charter 77, former members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, as it is presented in the press especially by Interior Minister Richard Sacher has a clear aim, is voiced in a Charter 77 statement issued here today.

Both Oldrich Hromadko, now chairman of the Civic Forum's central civic Commission for purging the State Security Corps, and Ladislav Lis, chairman of the Defense and Security Committee of the Czechoslovak parliament House of the People, have been critical of the slow and insufficient purging of the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry. Instead of meeting their matter-of-fact criticism, or refuting it on the basis of facts, a campaign has been unleashed against them which delays the solution of urgent tasks concerning the state security corps and the Interior Ministry, the statement said and expressed full solidarity with Oldrich Hromadko and Ladislav Lis.

The statement said none of its 58 signatories has ever been a member of the communist Party of Czechoslovakia, but added that associated in Charter 77 are citizens of various view currents, including former Communist Party members. Cooperation with them has never been comprehended as temporary or tactical, the statement pointed out.

The change in their thinking was not motivated by time-serving goals, on the contrary, all circumstances show that it was a change of principle. They paid for their "sobering up" with years-long persecution, Ladislav Lis was even twice jailed, the statement said.

People's Party Statement Defends Sacher

AU2404200690

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 21 April on page 1, under the headline "A Czechoslovak People's Party Statement on the Current Situation," carries a 350-word report on a statement which the party issued recently.

According to this statement, "the Czechoslovak People's Party (CSL) has never conducted and never will conduct offensive polemics, will not allow itself to get carried away and use dishonorable means, and will face possible wrongdoings committed against it without fear." The CSL views the recent attacks made against the party not as "isolated political clashes" but as deliberate "crusades" against the entire Christian movement with the aim of casting aspersions on its main forces and on the

guarantees of democratic development. The party also considers these attacks to be an attempt at compromising its leading representatives.

As far as Richard Sacher, federal interior minister and a party member, is concerned, the statement maintains that "he has become an obvious target for all the attacks and will be robustly defended by our party." The CSL regards the approach surrounding the problem of the State Security and "dark forces" as one which "whips up fear and causes subsequent attacks." The statement points out that Dr. Sacher still has the support of President Havel and Alexander Dubcek.

Sacher on Security Situation

AU2504070890 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 21 Apr 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Interior Minister Richard Sacher by Libor Sevcik in Prague on 20 April: "Coffee With the Minister"]

[Text] Yesterday [20 April] the Italian television crew that had been in Prague for a few days to report on Pope John Paul II's visit to our country managed to persuade CSFR Interior Minister Richard Sacher to give an interview. Because the meeting was held close to MLADA FRONTA, our scouts worked hard and I was able to invite the minister over for coffee. First of all, I wanted to know what our Italian colleagues had asked him. They were interested in the Pope's security and in the threats that have been made in connection with his visit.

[Sacher] As the Italian experts who recently visited our country informed us, such threats are made during every visit undertaken by the Holy Father. It is the same in our country. However, from a security point of view, we have done our utmost for this valuable visitor's security. Two British experts have even arrived; we have utilized all our available forces for his protection.

[Sevcik] Can you be more specific about those who have made threats?

[Sacher] They are anonymous; some are of local origin and others appear to come from Arab circles. It is difficult to be specific about the rest, but experience has taught us that such threats made in advance do not present a real problem.

[Sevcik] Is your faith in good, morality, and integrity not one of the reasons why you place too much trust in people who do not recognize these principles?

[Sacher] That is an oversimplification. If I strive for good, my resistance to evil has to be sufficiently intense for it to be suppressed and for good to be shown the path forward. However, it is possible to confuse this with "the end justifies the means." We have already recognized this. In the struggle between good and evil, it is important to have a clear purpose and a clean conscience. A person who enters into such a struggle must not be afraid that someone has something on him, that he has made grave errors in the past, or that because of compromising documents he will be subjected to blackmail. This would hamper him too much. Morality must be above politics and economics. We must not abandon the principles of the moral approach, not even for a moment.

[Sevcik] How, then, can you work with immoral people?

[Sacher] The Ministry of the Interior is an organization run in a military style. In such an environment the human factor must operate as a catalyst in the good and bad sense of the word. It would be no problem to "deal with" the situation by militant and radical measures, measures which some people are calling for. But the result would make those concerned more militant and more radical. This does not only involve compromised individuals, but involves the entire structure. Everyone is capable of putting this dangerous mechanism into operation. We chose a strategy involving the least shocks possible, that is, a strategy involving the least dangerous reactions. Now the issue is to create structures capable of paralyzing what is still dangerous. I see this as being our fundamental task. A policy of club-wielding and of going after people, as is also being demanded, is not the best method. Such a primitive approach is very dangerous; after all, Romania's example is still fresh in our minds. I think that by the abolition of the State Security—an obviously criminal organization—we cannot violate any laws. These people will continue to live among us. Nor can I overlook the fact that tragic events have taken place among their ranks. Recently, not far from my home town, a State Security officer committed suicide, and I am convinced that he had a clean conscience. He left three children. Such things should not happen.

[Sevcik] However, the main reproach is that you are proceeding too slowly in abolishing the State Security.

[Sacher] We did not abolish the State Security so that its place could be taken by people who actively participated in constructing the totalitarian system, although they had to leave the ministry after 1968. Indeed, many officers left for political reasons or because they disagreed with the arrival of the troops, but a number of people intrinsically linked with and part of the totalitarian regime of the 1950's only left because personal accounts were being settled. If we were to measure them according to the same severe yardstick—as is now being applied in the screenings—they would not come up to par. You know, it is a shocking sight to see the paper from the meetings held at Minister Pavel's office [interior minister in 1968] with the names of those who were to be tried along with comments on how to arrange things so that they could be given the planned punishments. On that paper are the signatures of people who today are to sign the screenings.

[Sevcik] Whom will this dispute serve?

[Sacher] This is the correct way of looking at it. Who in particular is all of this intended to benefit? At the same time, this does not just involve me, but is a deliberate overall approach and an attempt to establish new

shadow centers of power. These are very dangerous attempts and are incompatible with democracy. There can also be no doubt that this entire affair is extremely damaging to us abroad as the situation surrounding the Interior Ministry in every country is always monitored very carefully and far-reaching conclusions are drawn from it. It is obvious today that the conclusions drawn are not too favorable for us.

[Sevcik] In conclusion, let us return to Thursday's [19 April] torrid night in parliament after the public had been excluded.

[Sacher] Approximately 10 deputies holding a number of contradictory views made speeches at another debate. Members of the Defense and Security Committees also spoke with the proviso that no one discussed Deputy Lis' speech with them. As a reply to all the points raised requires precision, I will submit a written answer to parliament before 2 May.

Federal Assembly Discusses Drug Trafficking, Dams

LD2404221890 Prague CTK in English 1950 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 24 (CTK)—The 27th session of the two chambers of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly continued for the fifth day here today with the government members' replies to interpellations, questions and impulses of the deputies.

Discussing the answers to interpellations the deputies adopted a stand on the 24th Federal Assembly joint session when a resolution recommending to the government to inform the parliament about the schedule of individual reform measures including changes of proprietary forms and conditions for enterprise activities by the end of March 1990 was adopted. Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa asked for prolongation of the term till the end of May. The parliament considered Marian Calfa's request and asked for an answer by the end of April.

Deputy Pavol Balgavy (without party affiliation) raised a question to the Federal Government whether there is any comprehensive government program concerning the struggle against drug-trafficking and the abuse of narcotics, and if not he suggested to elaborate it.

Deputy to the House of Nations Juraj Holcik (non-affiliated) addressed a new interpellation to Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa concerning the water system at Gabcikovo. As he did not receive any answer to his previous one raised 57 days ago.

Deputy to the House of Nations Mojmir Kovar (non-affiliated) pointed to the suspicious enterprise of the cooperative farm "Agrokombinat" at Slusovice, Moravia. He asked the Czechoslovak premier whether the farm's activities have been approved by the Communist Party Central Committee under the pretext of a preferred cmea experiment. He analysed in detail Slusovice's economic practices and cast doubts on their legality.

Deputy to the House of the People Zdenek Malina (non-affiliated) criticized the slow progress in liberalization of regulations concerning the stay of foreign tourists in Czechoslovakia. He spoke critically about the sale of petrol vouchers and the obligatory exchange of currency and suggested their abolition. He also recommended to abolish the obligation of temporary residential permits for both foreigners and Czechoslovak citizens.

Deputy to the House of Nations Jozef Kucerak (non-affiliated) interpellated the government in connection with the prepared project of the Danube-Oder-Elbe channel. He said that ecoiogical aspects are ignored in this project and asked the government to express its opinion on this issue.

Referring to the problem around the sale of petrol vouchers to foreign tourists in Czechoslovakia. Deputy Premier Vladimir Dlouhy admitted his part of responsibility for the unfavourable situation in their distribution in hotels in the first ten days after the government's resolution came into effect. He said, however, that the situation has already stabilized.

Czechoslovak Minister of Transport Frantisek Podlena replied partially to the interpellation concerning the Danube-Oder-Elbe channel project saying that the Ekotrans Moravia company enterprising in water transport has not been charged with building this waterway. The final decision is to be made by the Czech Ministry of Forestry and Wood Working Industry.

Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky said the government will reply to the interpellations raised today, except for the one concerning Slusovice, by May 2.

The 27th joint parliamentary session ended today. Another, probably the last session before the elections, will take place on May 2-8, 1990.

Havel Opposed To Outlawing CPCZ

AU2504112790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Apr 90 p 3

["Excerpt" of interview with President Vaclav Havel by unidentified reporter in the No. 6/1990 issue of the periodical RESPEKT, published in RUDE PRAVO's "We Have Selected from the Press" column; place and date not given]

[Text] [Reporter] We all know what catastrophic consequences the 40 years of Communist Party rule have had for this country. A considerable part of society therefore expected that this organization's participation in political life would be rendered impossible, either temporarily or for good. These hopes did not come true. Even though the principles and methods of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] remain essentially

unchanged, no constitutional official—including yourself—has made the proposal that this party in its present form be outlawed. Are you really convinced that the departure of a few of its most compromised figures will be enough to free this structure of its fascistic elements?

[Havel] I do not recognize the principle of collective guilt. If the Communist Party were to be declared a criminal organization, its every member since 1948 or even since its founding would have to be branded as a criminal. This is why I see no reason why the CPCZ should be termed a criminal organization and disqualified as such [from political life]. I believe that everyone who is guilty of criminal offenses ought to be tried by an independent court as an individual. Justice must get its way but an organization must not be put on trial.

[Reporter] Even though the NSDAP was outlawed in postwar Germany, this did not mean that its every member was automatically a criminal. It is now in vogue in our country to place an equation sign between the abolition of a structure and collective guilt. But, surely, no one is intent on launching a witch-hunt against communists, but the point is to strike against the material and communications base of the mafia.

[Havel] I have the impression that abolishing the Communist Party is essentially tantamount to declaring it a collective culprit. And who is the culprit? Each of its members. And, what is more: Is it impossible for the mafiosi to establish a new structure when their old one is abolished? I believe that the problem that we have in mind would not be resolved by the abolition of the party. The matter is infinitely more complicated than that.

Officials Discuss Prosecutor Letter on Communists

LD2404222290 Prague CTK in English 2017 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 24 (CTK)—In the past, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was a totalitarian party but now it is being internally transformed and espouses the democratization movement, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky said on television here tonight.

He was responding to a letter from Prague City Prosecutor Tomas Sokol addressed to the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee (made public on April 17) announcing it that as from May 1 the party's activity will be judged from the viewpoint of a possible commitment of acts constituting the offence of supporting and propagating fascism.

Jan Carnogursky said that in the past, when the Communist Party was totalitarian, support and propagation of it could justly lead to considerations about criminal proceedings.

However, it must be realized that now the party is now being internally transformed, espouses the democratization movement and is headed by new persons. Just as anybody else, the party has the right to the application of the principle of forgiveness. The present communist party of Czechoslovakia has a place in Czechoslovakia's political system, and elections without it would not be free ones since the voters would be deprived of this alternative, the Czecholovak deputy premier said.

However, he stressed that the party still adheres to the Marxist- Leninist teaching, a harmful ideology which led Czechoslovakia to a blind alley. That is why it should suffer a big loss in the free elections since otherwise the reforms in Czechoslovakia would be deadlocked at halfway.

Czech Prosecutor General Pavel Rychetsky pointed on television tonight to a statement by Tomas Sokol published later by the Czech farmers' daily ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in which he said that in the letter to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia he expressed his personal, civic attitude.

Pavel Rychetsky criticized Prosecutor Tomas Sokol for using the official paper of the City Prosecutor's Office for expressing his private attitude. However, the analysis of the ideas, activity, program and especially practice of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as it was done by Tomas Sokol deserves attention. The ideological program of Communist parties is a program of violence.

The Czech prosecutor general also explained that a criminal offence can be committed by an individual, not by an organization. It is not within jurisdiction of the Prosecutor's Office to assess the attitudes of an organization and to monitor from the ideological point of view the activity of political parties. No one should be prosecuted for his views, standpoints. At present, no political party can be outlawed, Pavel Rychetsky said.

CPCZ Statement on Prague Prosecutor's Letter

AU2404111790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Apr 90 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "Statement of the Executive Committees of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee and of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia Central Committee"]

[Text] At an extraordinary meeting on Wednesday, 18 April 1990, the Executive Committees of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee and Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] Central Committee discussed the content of the letter by Tomas Sokol, LLD, Prague city prosecutor, and assumed the following position:

The Federal Assembly passed a law on political parties on 23 January 1990. Under this law, the CPCZ is considered, together with other parties and movements, to be a party which is already in existence. Neither this law, nor any other legal regulation, contains a provision

by which it would be possible to prohibit the activity of a territorial organization of a political party or political movement.

The CPCZ and KSCM Central Committee Executive Committees deem the aforementioned letter to be a serious overstepping of the City Prosecutor's authority, an intentional attempt to discredit a legal political party, and a willful attempt to obstruct the CPCZ's activity using lies and threats of state coercion. According to the law on the prosecutor's office, the prosecutor is obliged only to monitor whether the law is respected and obeyed. From the viewpoint of the law on the prosecutor's office, this act is null and void [nicotny], since the prosecutor does not have the proper legal power to issue it. From the viewpoint of criminal law, too, this is a serious violation of the principle of personal liability and presumption of innocence.

The letter of the City Prosecutor in Prague voices unqualified judgment on the CPCZ's activity, attempting to criminalize it. The letter sets a deadline for solving all CPCZ administrative matters connected with the liquidation of its "exposure" in the city of Prague by 30 April 1990. The rest of the letter consists of ideological speculations stemming from Dr. Sokol's personal opinion.

Should such a private opinion serve as the basis for the city prosecutor's official decision, then we must question his competence and aptitude to perform his function. If we understand the private position of the City Prosecutor in Prague properly, then anyone's CPCZ membership since its establishment has been membership in an illegal organization. This applies to all existing and former CPCZ members. If we take into account the thousands of communists who lost their lives in their fight against fascism, this accusation sounds particularly absurd.

Immediately after the publication of the city prosecutor's letter, the CPCZ Central Committee, other party bodies, and the RUDE PRAVO editorial office began to receive innumerable reactions, opinions, and positions from all over the republic and from abroad expressing disapproval and outrage not only of party members, but of the public in general. The fact is met with astonishment that a prosecutor, as someone who supervises compliance with the law, himself willfully violates the law by such action.

The CPCZ and KSCM Central Committee Executive Committees are of the opinion that Dr. Sokol's letter and its publication represent an attempt to escalate social tension, which, in its consequences, endangers the program of democratic changes in society. This deplorable event has coincided with the Federal Assembly session, which is to discuss a number of important laws that are necessary and needed for the future of our country. Moreover, all this happened a few days before the visit by Pope John Paul II to Czechoslovakia and a very short time before elections.

We are of the opinion that only extremist forces striving for a breakdown of society, irrespective of their position in the political spectrum, may benefit from the letter of the City Prosecutor in Prague.

For these reasons, we demand that Dr. Sokol's decision be considered null and void from the very beginning and that the appropriate conclusions be drawn from his course of action.

The CPCZ stresses again that it strictly respects the constitutional and legal order in its political work and that it supports decency and openness in relations with other political forces. We reject any monopoly on power and want to participate in the development of a democratic, pluralistic, and prosperous society in our country as a fair partner having equal rights. We appeal to all CPCZ members to remain calm and to retain sound judgment and not to yield to the artificially created atmosphere of fear and to the attempts to fan political passions.

CPCZ's Stepan Defends Actions, Party

AU2404143490

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 20 April on page 1 publishes a 400-word letter by Miroslav Stepan, former member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, to Jiri Ruml, LIDOVE NOVINY editor in chief. The letter, which is dated 5 April, was written in the Pankrac penitentiary in Prague where Stepan is being held in custody in connection with investigations of the 17 November 1989 events. In the letter Stepan reacts to Ruml's article of 31 March, in which the LIDOVE NOVINY chief editor raised several still "unanswered questions" concerning the 17 November events. Stepan says that he shares Ruml's concern that "no one [from the current leadership of the CPCZ] wants to answer some questions" concerning the background of the 17 November events and expresses his readiness to give an interview to LIDOVE NOVINY and answer "any questions on which I have something to say." In another part of his letter, Stepan criticizes his expulsion from the CPCZ, saying that the decision was made in his absence and "in contravention of the party statutes." Stepan also points out that he has written already twice to CPCZ Chairman Ladislav Adamec and once to the RUDE PRAVO editor in chief, asking him to publish his letter to Adamec and complains that the letters have been neither published nor answered.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 21 April, on pages 2 and 3, publishes the 2,800-word "M. Stepan's Letter to L. Adamec." As RUDE PRAVO notes in an introductory passage, Adamec made the letter available to RUDE PRAVO the day before. The letter, which was sent to Adamec on 23 February, is published "in full, to comply with M. Stepan's wish."

Stepan opens the letter by saying that he appeals to Adamec in a situation that is "extreme" for him and his family, in the hope of encountering his "assistance and understanding." He is writing out of the fear, he says, that he is to be made into a scapegoat (a "programmed victim of revenge," as he puts it) and to be held accountable for the entire period of one-party monopoly. Stepan points out that he had been in the party leadership for only one year and that the Prague demonstrations, and their suppression, were not the product of his work but a consequence of the policy practiced for the past 20 years. He discusses at length his work as Prague party leader, stressing his efforts to push through the ideas of Soviet restructuring and his drive against corruption and privileges. "I am convinced that at the time of the political power monopoly, I violated neither the Constitution nor the laws of this country," he says. Stepan acknowledges his "political responsibility" for his attitudes and unspecified "mistakes" committed as leading Prague party secretary but refuses to be held accountable for the steps taken by the Prague security corps against demonstrators. He stresses that his only concern was to "preserve public order in the capital" and that he neither ordered nor instigated "incorrect or unpremeditated security measures." Referring to the 17 November events, Stepan says that he even regards the action of security forces against demonstrators on Narodni Trida as a "gross provocation directed also against me personally." Stepan concedes that on 17 November he contacted by phone the first deputy minister of interior and two police officers, but adds that he only inquired what was going on and what was being done to restore "public order."

In his letter, Stepan also protests against his expulsion from the CPCZ, saying that the decision was made without any proper inquiry and that he was not given a chance to defend himself. Stepan describes expulsions as incompatible with the concept of a modern political party and as a vestige of "Stalinism and the Comintern philosophy." In concluding, Stepan declares that he remains faithful to his communist creed and wishes the CPCZ leadership success in its efforts to "renew" the party.

More on Czech Premier's 23 Apr News Conference

LD2404090190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] A news conference on Czech and Slovak relations took place in Prague today. Czech Premier Petr Pithart recalled the joint aim of both national governments to work out a joint standpoint on the future shape of the Czecho-Slovak federation before the elections. The principles of the constitutions of the republics should first be created and their competence submitted to the federation.

Asked whether the word Czechoslovakia would exist at all in the future, Petr Pithart said that this is a question which should be put, above all, to the Slovak public. Czechs will probably continue to use this word spontaneously. The basic problem is that the argument over the name is in fact an argument over something else. Everything that has not been expressed or that has been made taboo is concentrated in it.

On the subject of the situation at the Federal Ministry of the Interior, Petr Pithart said that he considers it unfortunate when the problems of the sector are interpreted as problems of a party or parties. He said that as far as Interior Minister Richard Sacher is personally concerned, questions of the functioning of the ministry and the work of Mr. Sacher were never connected with his party membership during talks.

Slovak Government Council for Nationalities Set Up

AU2404134490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Apr 90 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Only Temporary Changes; The Government of the Slovak Republic Discussed Legislative Changes"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— At its meeting in Bratislava yesterday, the Government of the Slovak Republic discussed several proposals for legislative changes.

It voiced its approval of a draft law which changes and amends Law No. 29 of 1984 on the system of primary and secondary schools (education law). The purpose of the amendment is to regulate—for a period of transition, until a new education law is passed—the course of action in ensuring the educational process at primary and secondary schools. Under the amendment, mandatory school attendance will be cut from 10 to 9 years. The ninth grade at [currently eight-year] primary schools ought to be phased in over a period of three years. All young people should acquire their basic education at primary schools, which will eliminate the current situation when mandatory school attendance ends at secondary schools. [passage omitted] Last but not least, the amendment supplements the existing system of schools with private and church schools.

The government gave its consent to the draft law of the Slovak National Council on the legal profession, which pursues the aim of privatizing the legal profession. The draft law accentuates the independence of the legal profession of the bodies of state power and administration.

The government also approved the draft amendment of Law No. 128 of 1970 on delineating the sphere of influence of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic in matters concerning internal order and security and of Law No. 194 of 1988 on the sphere of influence of the federal central bodies of state administration. The essence of this amendment is the complete transfer of the command of the Public Security Corps to the jurisdiction of the republics. The proposed transfer of the

protection of the state borders from the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of Interior to the jurisdiction of the republican ministries of interior represents another important change. [passage omitted]

The government appointed a new Council of the Slovak Republic Government for Nationalities with Milan Cic, premier of the Slovak Republic, at its head. The council is composed of representatives of central bodies, national committees, political parties and movements, ethnic organizations, and scientific and cultural institutions.

The government discussed the settlement of property-related legal issues between the Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches. It approved the transfer of the villa on Francisci Street in Presov, which is administered by the Presov City National Committee, to the Eparchial Council of the Orthodox Church.

In connection with the tense situation caused by the increased strain on the production capacity of the PRAVDA printing plant in Bratislava, the government took necessary steps to make sure that the publication of the daily press of political parties and movements in the preelection period is not jeopardized.

The Government agreed to change the name of Czechoslovak Television in the Slovak Republic to Slovak Television.

Professional Border Police To Be Set Up

LD2404173190 Prague CTK in English 1128 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 24 (CTK)—Border Guards Main Administration chief, Colonel Stanislav Pokorny, told CTK today that 385 km of border barriers had been removed to date and still 364 km remained.

He said the barriers should have been liquidated by the end of June when the main tourist season begins, and pointed out that some foreigners, however, started to take advantage of this. Mainly people from southern and eastern countries, e.g. Turkey, Syria, Bangladesh and Vietnam, want to get to Austria and the FRG to work there. In case they succeed in crossing borders, these two countries do not welcome them and return them to Czechoslovakia which can only ensure their transport home, Colonel Stanislav Pokorny said, adding that what is worse is that in many cases they are people who paid Prague taxi drivers a big amount of money in foreign currencies to drive them to the border, and were left without any financial means.

Asked whether protection of the state border would be changed, Mr Pokorny said that military protection should have been completely abandoned and replaced by border police on a professional basis. The Slovak administration in Bratislava should introduce this first and other administrations within three years. Steering and security bodies should be reduced and executive ones strengthened. There would be no difference between the western and eastern border as the whole border would be protected to the same extent, he stated and added that the border zone had already now been formed by a river or a fivemetre piece of land.

New Leftist Biweekly Published

AU2404112190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Apr 90 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "By Telex, Mail, and Telephone..." column: "POLARITA (Polarity)—Biweekly of the Leftist Alternative"]

[Text] POLARITA—Biweekly of the Leftist Alternative—Movement for Democratic and Self-Governing Socialism will be published for the first time this week. Its contents are: P. Uhl—Our Relationship With OF [Civic Forum], E. Bondy—Report on a Trip to the United States (poem in prose), Notes From the History of the Czechoslovak Anarchist Association, Where Does Privatization Lead?, Comments, Polemics, Letters,

Kohl, De Maiziere Target Economic Union 2 Jul

LD2404143390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1405 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl affirmed their determination, during a confidential and intensive exchange of views today, lasting three hours, "that the economic, currency, and social union will enter into force on 2 July this year." Government spokesman Dieter Vogel announced this in a statement circulated by the Federal Press Office. The governments and the negotiating commissions will now do all in their power to effect the necessary preliminary work for this as soon as possible.

The two government leaders discussed in their talks the continuing negotiations on a state treaty between the Federal Republic and the GDR on the establishment of an economic, currency, and social union, according to the government spokesman's statement. The federal chancellor and the GDR Government leader were in agreement on "realizing the goals of this union as soon as possible." Both described the atmosphere of the negotiations as a "climate befitting friends."

De Maiziere 'Hopeful' After Talks

LD2404193590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1703 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Bonn—Lothar de Maiziere said that during his first visit to Bonn as head of the GDR Government today he wanted to establish whether, in the wake of the federal government's offer on monetary union negotiations, there are still areas the GDR can negotiate on. "I am quite hopeful here," De Maiziere optimistically told GDR journalists after his six hours of talks with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Chancellory chief Rudolf Seiters, and Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth.

With a 1:1 exchange rate for wages and salaries, Bonn has met an important demand of GDR citizens, albeit with a reservation on reducing subsidies. However, the negotiating partners must rethink this when considering employees with low wages. De Maiziere hopes that the federal government's proposal to convert cash and savings up to 4,000 marks per person will not be made the "central point" in the German-German negotiations. In this matter account must be taken of the fact that if the amount of savings to be converted at a 1:1 rate is set higher, it will also increase the budget deficit, and thus in the end there will be less money available for social services.

Immediately prior to his flight back to Berlin, the newly elected prime minister appealed to GDR citizens to view the discussion on savings deposits "more calmly," because, after all, it was not that long ago when people took 5.7 or 10 marks to West Berlin to get just one Deutsch Mark.

According to de Maiziere, the German-German talks could, after the talks between experts tomorrow, be transformed on Friday into direct negotiations with the aim of putting the hard currency Deutsch Mark into the hands of the people in the GDR for the start of their summer vacation. Other topics mentioned by the prime minister were the protection of sectors of the economy, a balanced budget, and above all the discussion on how various data can be brought into a correct and necessary equilibrium. The dialogue between the two German heads of government on closer cooperation should also be continued soon in Berlin and should become a normal event, without the population placing enormous hopes in it every time.

At the next stage of negotiations, "basic figures must be hammered out," De Maiziere said, in order to meet peoples' urgent expectations of an early economic, monetary, and social union, which is the "goal and policy" of his government.

FRG Proposals Called 'Negotiating Offer'

LD2404192990 Hamburg DPA in German 1739 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] [No dateline, as received]—De Maiziere said in an interview for First German Television (ARD) [West German] that the FRG proposals for monetary union were a "negotiating offer, a basis that takes up the most important demands made by people in the GDR during the past few weeks; namely, one-to-one for wages and salaries." For pensioners, too, the proposal provides for "conceivable possibilities." Together with the conversion modalities for enterprises and budget subsidies, this was a "package that must be assessed precisely on many points."

Compensatory payments for the price reform, which in the federal government's view should not take place before the monetary union, were "something that, in my view, still must be negotiated," the GDR prime minister said. They still would have to think over matters, primarily in the case of the lowest wages.

With regard to savings accounts, which Bonn wants to convert at the 1:1 rate only up to an amount of 4,000 marks per person, De Maiziere said that they would have to "discuss other possibilities, too," for example, the acquisition of residential property. "We must consider very carefully whether this 4,000 (marks) is to be the last word, but it is also a question that we see in connection with the effect on our budget limits," said De Maiziere.

De Maiziere on Unification, Other Issues

AU2404162090 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 23 Apr 90 p 7

[Interview with Premier Lothar de Maiziere by Manfred Schell and Detlev Ahlers in East Berlin; date not given: "GDR's Accession Need Not Mean Complete Equalization of Laws"]

[Text] [DIE WELT] Mr. Premier, how is the internal situation in the GDR?

[De Maiziere] It is more difficult to assess now than in November or December. At that time there was an emotional high. We got rid of the past and there were clear images of the opponents—if I think of January, when the Normannenstrasse—that is, the State Security Ministry—was the issue. Now the situation is dominated by uncertainty about what will happen. One could narrow this to individual issues: the economy or jobs. However, I think that it is something different. In the past, the GDR's future has always been ordered. It was described, it was set down; there was the leadership and one only had to follow it and then the future would be beautiful. Now the people notice: The future is open. It is a free time, an uncertain time, and one has to shape it oneself; one has to contribute to freedom and responsibility. The things that actually constitute man's freedom could also be oppressive, if one has not learned to deal with them.

[DIE WELT] Father Martin Gutzeit (Social Democratic Party) said that particularly in rural areas he has the impression that most GDR citizens have no idea of the changes that they will have to face in the very near future. Is this also your impression?

[De Maiziere] This is regionally different— particularly between town and countryside. These are the differences that we have always had: In Mecklenburg and Western Pomerania, the clocks go more slowly, while in Saxony and Thuringia the day only has 16 hours. If one looks at the election result, one also sees clear differences in voting behavior. Particularly regarding agriculture, we have a strange situation. Nowhere else did deprivatization take place more painfully than in agriculture in 1961—if I remember Spring 1961, the so-called socialist spring in the rural areas; at that time people left in masses, but many stayed. The strange thing is that precisely there the situation is now more stable than in some other economic spheres that were created: Combines are called much more into question than the agricultural production cooperatives. And perhaps the preservation of a certain cooperative thinking in the rural areas will be good for the producers. Let us take West Europe—there there are cooperatives among the suppliers and purchasers, but the producers are soloists.

[DIE WELT] You were probably the first speaker in the People's Chamber who praised counterrevolution. How many deputies, do you think, really see this event as a counterrevolution?

[De Maiziere] I used the term counterrevolution a bit in quotation marks. How many of them see it in this way?—you have to ask the 400.

[DIE WELT] And how is the mood among your people in this respect?

[De Maiziere] This is also differs widely, depending on the region. Some will say that something has come over us in a way we did not want. Many say that this is precisely what we want. In the government statement, I deliberately took up an earlier image, because in the past, every government which moved into the direction of private property and one's own economic interest, was considered counterrevolutionary and it was always said immediately that if one did this counterrevolutionary thing, social matters and matters of solidarity would be immediately doomed to failure. I tried to untie this knot.

[DIE WELT] Will 17 June [Day of German Unity] become a holiday in the GDR, too?

[De Maiziere] Concerning holidays we must be clear about one things: What do the people think? I do not know whether 17 June is really so well known by many here. Easter Monday (in 1990 for the first time again a legal holiday in the GDR) was certainly more popular. For me personally, it would be very important if the Day of Repentance [21 November] would become a legal holiday again.

[DIE WELT] What will concern many women is that, in case of accession in line with Article 23 of the Basic Law, you will not be able to stick to the regulations concerning abortions in the GDR.

[De Maiziere] This is to be cleared up in preparing for accession via Article 23. Accession need not mean a complete equivalency of laws. In my government statement, I tried to imply that the decision for life must be made easier. I consider criminalization dangerous particularly concerning this question, because the question of unborn life will then disappear from our awareness of the problem—and this does not help in this at all. It is right that ethics cannot be deliberately created.

Juan Carlos' Amnesty Could Be a Model

[DIE WELT] Thus, there need not be legal unity in particularly important matters?

[De Maiziere] Even in the FRG, you have regulations that are based on laender law and regulations, which are based on federal law. Okay, it is true that federal law dominates over laender law, and this concerns criminal law. But this question will have to be discussed.

[DIE WELT] Should there also be different attitudes concerning the right to work?

[De Maiziere] This is a completely different question: a question concerning constitutional theories. I believe that a catalogue of basic rights is devalued if one includes rights that cannot be sued for as individual rights. There are also other points of view that social protection rights as goals of the state enrich a constitution. It is the consensus in the coalition that this will at least be put forth as a goal in negotiations. This is an old quarrel, which has already played a decisive role among the fathers of the Basic Law. In his memoirs, Carlo Schmid precisely describes these negotiations in the past. It was

a bit difficult that we now dragged this old quarrel into our coalition negotiations. I am a sober lawyer. And I am against juridical lyrics.

[DIE WELT] Then you cannot be satisfied with the draft constitution of the roundtable?

[De Maiziere] I have studied this draft and I have considerable reservations regarding it, for instance, with regard to the description of the relationship between grassroots democracy and parliamentary democracy. So far, we have not had either of them; we should first practice one, then one can see.

[DIE WELT] Where will the many people of the former State Security Service find useful work?

[De Maiziere] Autumn created the slogan "State Security members into production," but when they arrive there, nobody wants them. I think that a person who worked as a cook in a vacation facility of the State Security Ministry, can also cook somewhere else. At the moment, this question is fraught with excessive emotions. If we are able to release the pressure a bit, things will be dealt with more soberly. Things will be more difficult concerning those who fulfilled these special tasks. If one has the goal of pacifying society, measures of retraining will be necessary.

[DIE WELT] The citizens' committees permitted the entire foreign reconnaissance service to continue work, probably at least until you assumed office.

[De Maiziere] One cannot look at it this way; there are certainly many among them who simply continued their work because they were paid well. If they are no longer paid, their interest will wane. Things will probably be more difficult with those who were passionate about their jobs.

[DIE WELT] What will happen to Markus Wolf?

[De Maiziere] One will have to deal with him.

[DIE WELT] In your government statement, you spoke about the rehabilitation of the victims of the State Security Service. You did not speak of compensation.

[De Maiziere] I think that we will have to find a legal solution, but that we will have to find solutions for individual cases. We cannot do something general by saying everyone who.... And we will have to clear up what the people really want. Because if we pay comprehensive compensations, we might not have enough means for other, more important tasks.

[DIE WELT] Do you still need all the files during the entire process of rehabilitation?

[De Maiziere] How one should deal with these files is one of the most difficult questions. There are extremely different views. Some people say: Put them into the shredder. Others say: Put them into a document center. There are good reasons for this, if one can be sure that such archives are secure. And third: I could not be in favor of a constitutional organ having access to these files after German unification when considering every personnel decision: This is a person from Leipzig, we could take a look in his file...—and one could not do this in case of an applicant from Frankfurt/Main.

[DIE WELT] Is there a tunnel system in East Berlin which can be compared with that in Bucharest used by the State Security Service?

[De Maiziere] Not a comparable one, but there have certainly been some connecting tunnels.

[DIE WELT] You have not thought of amnesty?

[De Maiziere] I think that we should quickly issue an amnesty for those persons accused of election fraud during the local elections last May. After all, the elections took place like that for 40 years. I have acquired a list of all the measures, including amnesty, which Juan Carlos introduced after the time of Franco's fascism, and I will study these measures and see which of them can be used here.

[DIE WELT] Why are there no trials of people like Honecker, Mittag, Mielke? There is the suspicion that something is postponed in the hope that biology will solve the matter.

[De Maiziere] If you compare the duration of investigation proceedings at FRG public prosecutor's offices with these matters, the time that has passed to date is not excessively long. Additionally, there was the initiative of fellow lawyers, who demanded that the proceedings be held after 18 March so as to ensure that principles based on the rule of law are applied. This is one aspect. And the other is the fact that these proceedings must not be vengeful but that we have to check closely (Thank God, I am not responsible for that; the public prosecutor's office is directly subordinate to the People's Chamber) whether the people involved are still capable of being tried. Perhaps, one could use an international group of doctors for this.

[DIE WELT] Why do you spare Hans Modrow?

[De Maiziere] What reason should I have not to spare him? In the past months, I have seen him as a fair man and I have seen how difficult some decisions were for him.

[DIE WELT] But he delayed many things, particularly in the economy. You mentioned this in your government statement.

[De Maiziere] He was under the pressure of being told again and again that he was not sufficiently legitimated and that, on the other hand, an organ, the roundtable, which, in fact, was not really able to prove its legitimacy either, pushed into other directions and changed its profile in the course of this process. I think that concerning many issues Modrow said deliberately: This should be done by a government, which is legitimized by

elections. In the process, several things—and this is the problem—acquired a dynamism of their own and some ended up in partial anarchy, which might be difficult to correct. Furthermore, one has to concede to everyone that changing one's way of thinking requires a certain amount of time. In November some people still thought that one could make do with some reforms.

[DIE WELT] What will happen to the apartments, what will happen to the rents?

[De Maiziere] We will have to have consistent protection of tenants over an extended period and an obligation to maintain fixed rents. It will be possible to loosen this in the course of the development of real income. If we want investments in our country, then those who invest will do this because they expect cost advantages: a low wage level. However, this is closely linked with the subsidies, which have been paid so far. If we demand rents that cover cost, they would swallow up half or more of the income of many people. Then demands for higher wages would increase enormously and the incentive for investments would decrease.

[DIE WELT] However, this means that the tenants will hardly contribute to raising housing quality in the GDR.

[De Maiziere] Yes, the distribution of revenues is always difficult, and something always is left out somewhere. And perhaps in this case construction will be left out a bit.

[DIE WELT] Does the obligation to maintain fixed rents not deter investors?

[De Maiziere] First of all, we have to see what the introduction of a market economy will bring. You can assume that so far, people in the enterprises only worked four and a half hours instead of eight and three-quarters because they waited for material or because it was not worth the trouble to earn more money because one did not have the opportunity to enjoy the money in one's account and because one had to wait 15 years for a car. I can imagine that the desire to really work eight and three-quarters hours will be very great.

We Have To Fill Positions in the Central Bank Council

[DIE WELT] An exchange of wages at a rate of 1:1—is this not a purely theoretical discussion, because the wages will develop in very varied ways in the short term?

[De Maiziere] We assume that they will develop upward. But I consider the starting position essential. The wage level in our country is about one-third of that in the FRG. In case of a 1:2 exchange rate it will be one-sixth. If we add the reduction of subsidies, it would perhaps be one-eighth. Then you can imagine how many people will stay and how many will go to the FRG.

[DIE WELT] Concerning the topic of the 1:1 exchange rate, you also mentioned a differentiated exchange of savings. Does this apply to a certain amount; can one really have more than 100,000 GDR marks in one's account without having really been closely linked with the former system of injustice?

[De Maiziere] Oh, you should ask a few butchers, and they were not in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. In particular in the few crafts enterprises, there are people who have very high savings. The differentiated solutions could consist in transforming savings into material assets (preferential shares, property in apartments) or in the stipulation that those who want to have more than the threshold amount have to accept a more unfavorable exchange rate.

[DIE WELT] If the monetary union is implemented, monetary sovereignty—at least this is Mr. Poehl's [Bundesbank president] definition—will essentially rest with the Bundesbank in Frankfurt. This means that the GDR would give up its sovereignty in an important field.

[De Maiziere] This, too, has not yet been definitely decided. Of course, the Bundesbank will have a decisive role, but certain positions in the Central Bank Council will then also have to be filled by us. It is not the case that we are striving for the existence of two states, but for one state; as a result, I do not consider the question of renouncing sovereignty as legitimate. We will have laender central banks.

[DIE WELT] In the transitional period after the implementation of the monetary union and before unification, do you see a possibility for the state to incur debts, which are not mentioned in the coalition paper? And with whom?

[De Maiziere] When I say that certain tasks cannot be fulfilled with our revenues, which we will have, the money has to come from somewhere. If the FRG thinks that it does not want to do this in the form of loans, but simply says: This is our contribution—I would be pleased to hear this. But so far no one has made this offer explicitly.

[DIE WELT] But both things are mentioned in the coalition paper—debts and partial financing of the GDR budget by the FRG.

[De Maiziere] In the end, it will be a budget of the reemerging five laender, and they will have to incur debts in the usual form.

[DIE WELT] Do you know how high the GDR's assets and liabilities are?

[De Maiziere] My overview is not yet complete. Therefore, I will beware of citing figures. But the approach to the budget plan for this year is difficult. And we will not be able to close the gap easily. The term start-up financing for various insurance spheres has been mentioned; this means that it costs something, and either we have to try to protect our market for an extended period or there will be considerable phenomena of being pushed out. Then social expenditures will rise, and it is hardly possible for us to pay for this on our own.

Those Who Deliver To the Soviet Union Must Be Protected

[DIE WELT] How do you want to protect your market?

[De Maiziere] We cannot let all goods move unhindered as a result of the economic union. One has to think of limiting for a certain period of time the possibility for certain goods, including agricultural goods, to fully pervade our market. I consider areas related to export to the Soviet Union as particularly needing protection. And these are, after all, 10 percent of our production, about 600,000 jobs in heavy machine building, rail vehicle construction, etc.

[DIE WELT] Are these exports identical with the expectations for deliveries that Gorbachev has mentioned?

[De Maiziere] It involves a foreign trade turnover of about 32 billion. And we need this in order to get crude oil, natural gas, and other raw materials.

[DIE WELT] Is the CEMA market a sheet-anchor for the transitional period?

[De Maiziere] Certainly. I think that in certain areas we can modernize enterprises by maintaining these opportunities of sale to CEMA.

[DIE WELT] Will this exchange in CEMA take place on the basis of clearing units or in convertible currency in the future?

[De Maiziere] We have to negotiate this with the Soviets. At the CEMA summit in Sofia in January, the Soviet Union was already calling for world market prices and hard currency. At that time, it was the GDR Government that asked for maintaining the current modus. The situation could change as a result of the monetary union so that one might think of whether we ought take the step we refused in Sofia. Of course, the question is whether the Soviets will not say: If we have to pay in Deutsche Marks, we will buy in the FRG itself. But there is still mutual interest in these trade relations—and we will find a way.

[DIE WELT] How long will the Soviet soldiers stay?

[De Maiziere] This depends on the "Two-Plus-Four" negotiations and on the peace system within the framework of the CSCE process. This will also depend on the extent to which the current security systems can be changed from systems that have a strongly military character to all-encompassing systems of economic, cultural, and other obligations. The establishment of a European peace system will take longer than some people think when they look only at German unity.

[DIE WELT] Who pays their costs?

[De Maiziere] They have largely been paid by the GDR.

[DIE WELT] This will probably remain so. Is the demand for a nuclear-free overall Germany a gesture toward Moscow to safeguard the process of unification there?

[De Maiziere] First and foremost, this is a question for the two superpowers, because the FRG, too, is not authorized to dispose of nuclear weapons. But it would be a very beautiful vision, which one could strive for, and I do not think that it is in the interest of the Germans to maintain a nuclear threat.

[DIE WELT] It strains one's imagination to think that a border between alliances will run through Germany.

[De Maiziere] So far only procedural measure have been taken within the framework of the "Two-Plus-Four" talks. I am not willing to strain these negotiations by making forecasts.

[DIE WELT] Will you broach the issue that we Germans have the right to demand a peace treaty?

[De Maiziere] It must be negotiated whether there will be a peace treaty or another international law document, which also clears up border questions. In this connection, the expectations of our neighbors are greater than ours. It is necessary to do everything so that this process of unification takes place without worrying our neighbors. And, therefore, the result will have to be a document that ensures the European borders.

[DIE WELT] And which grants Germany full sovereignty—or do you think that reductions in sovereignty as a result of World War II will be possible well into the next millennium?

[De Maiziere] One cannot talk about the right to self-determination of the people if one restricts sovereignty.

De Maiziere Moscow Visit Set for 28 Apr

LD2404182690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1735 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere is to visit the USSR on 28 April. He has been invited by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Government spokesman Matthias Gehler told ADN this evening that a Moscow meeting between the two politicians is planned for 29 April at 1100. The GDR Government delegation includes Foreign Minister Markus Meckel, Economics Minister Dr. Gerhard Pohl, and Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann.

Meckel, FRG's Genscher Hold Talks in Bonn

LD2404204790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1728 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—At their first working meeting in Bonn today, the foreign ministers of the two German states, Markus Meckel (Social Democratic Party) and Hans-Dietrich Genscher (Free Democratic Party), agreed on close coordination and cooperation. After

their talk at the Foreign Ministry, which lasted approximately two hours, Genscher told the press that the goal of the talks with his GDR counterpart had been to discuss and lay out the foreign policy of the two German states until their unification. For this purpose they agreed to form a joint committee from the two ministries, headed by the ministers themselves.

Markus Meckel's working visit was also part of the preparations for the first meeting of the foreign ministers within the framework of the two-plus-four talks in Bonn on 5 May. The next venue for the talks will be Berlin, the subsequent order will be determined by the German alphabet.

The federal minister stressed that there was agreement that German unification following Article 23 could only begin when the external aspects are settled; nobody would be presented with a fait accompli. Relations with the Soviet Union will also be of major importance for a united Germany. It is necessary to develop prospects for these relations already. The interests of the Soviet Union also will be guaranteed following the establishment of German monetary, economic, and social union.

The GDR foreign minister declared that in the future the two foreign ministries will increasingly pursue a common foreign policy. Concrete coordination of political steps and measures is planned and an exchange of officials has been agreed. There also will be close cooperation on the embassy level. It is clear, Meckel said, that in the future there no longer will be two embassies in one city. The foreign minister said that until unification it will be the task of GDR foreign policy, in the interest of the people and stability in Europe, not only to let this process take place, but to bring it forward through concrete steps. The GDR can be a bridge to East Europe. In this connection, Meckel spoke of a Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow axis, which would play a central role in Europe in the future, as well. Anything the Germans do must not be contrary to the interests of East Europe. It is the declared intention of both sides to take these interests into account and to establish as trustful relations as possible.

In answer to questions from journalists, Markus Meckel said he found it hard to imagine that the territory of the present GDR could be part of a NATO with an unchanged strategy. Also, this would not be in the interest of the East European neighbors.

The two foreign ministers continued their exchange of views at a dinner this evening in Bonn. Before this, Meckel gave a talk to the Social Democratic Party Bundestag group on the security aspects of the German unification process and its integration into European unfication.

GDR, FRG Embassies To Cooperate

LD2504074690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0626 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin [ADN]—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel (Social Democratic Party) has reaffirmed that his country's embassies will work in close cooperation with the foreign missions of the Federal Republic. After his first working meeting with Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Deitrich Genscher in Bonn yesterday, Meckel told journalists on the flight back to Berlin that he would make this clear in a letter to the GDR ambassadors. After the unification of the two German states there will only be one German embassy in each country, Meckel said. Until that time cooperation could take the concrete form, for example, of not sending any new GDR ambassador to countries with which the GDR has diplomatic relations and which already accommodate embassies of the Federal Republic. Where necessary, charges d'affaires could be sent, who could then be based in the embassies of the Federal Republic, Meckel said. There will also have to be examination, in individual cases, of whether the posts of retiring ambassadors should be filed anew or whether interim solutions should be sought in close cooperation with the Federal Republic.

Meckel also said that the GDR intends to establish diplomatic relations in the summer with Israel and South Korea.

Foreign Minister Meckel on NATO Membership

AU2504124090 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 23 Apr 90 2

[ADN report: "Reconciliation of Interests With the Soviet Union Required"]

[Excerpt] Hamburg/Bonn/Moscow—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel has described the integration of East Europe in the German and European process of unification as the "bridgehead" of the GDR's foreign policy.

In an interview, Meckel stressed that a sensible GDR foreign policy will contribute to shaping the path toward German unity. Only in this way, can unity be guaranteed in a stable Europe. It cannot be "our intention to harm Soviet interests," Meckel pointed out.

Asked about future GDR membership in NATO, the SPD [Social Democratic Party] stated that "we will have to make it clear to the FRG that the GDR's obligations toward the Soviet Union will have to be met in the future as well." [passage omitted]

USSR Wants Troop Treaty With United Germany

AU2404122190 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 18 Apr 90 p 5

[NZ/E.W. report: "'Extraterritorial Status' for Soviets in the East of Germany?"]

[Text] The Soviet Union has expressed a wish to the FRG Government to conclude a treaty on the stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of today's GDR with a future all-German Government. As Bonn government circles told the PPD news agency, Moscow is striving for a "form of extraterritoriality," which would practically guarantee diplomatic immunity to Soviet military men. "The Soviets demand that we guarantee comprehensive personal protection to the soldiers in East Germany," a Bonn government official said. They are not to be subject to German laws.

It is said that the Kremlin is striving for a settlement, which guarantees greater protection to the Soviet troops stationed in the eastern part of united Germany than that of U.S. soldiers and the other Allied forces in today's FRG. The Soviets want a settlement, which deviates considerably from the NATO Status of Forces Agreement. In Moscow's view, German police should not have access to Soviet barracks in the various places.

It has been learned that the presence of Soviet troops in Germany after the reestablishment of unity has been the subject of talks between Bonn, Berlin, and Moscow for some time; the FRG Government consults with its NATO partners and does not negotiate behind the backs of the allies.

In 1957, the GDR concluded a treaty with the USSR on the stationing of the Soviet forces in the area between the Baltic Sea and the Erzgebirge mountain range. "In case of a threat to the safety" of the Soviet troops (formerly "Group of Soviet Forces in Germany," today "Western Group of Soviet Forces"), the Supreme Command in Wuensdorf near Berlin may take all appropriate measures it deems necessary. In the view of Bonn's legal experts, this general clause constitutes an emergency regulation without any possibility of participation by the GDR Government. "It must be considered as an essential restriction of GDR sovereignty," the experts say. In addition to the treaty on stationing, the GDR is linked with Moscow by the "Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance" (Warsaw Pact) of 1955.

If German unity is reestablished, today's GDR would have to be released from the Warsaw Pact, and the bilateral treaty on stationing would have to be replaced by a new agreement, the experts say. In addition, the occupation law, which the Soviets have only in Berlin, would have to be replaced. Bonn's experts proceed from the premise of a new status of forces agreement for Berlin and a new stationing treaty for the territory of today's GDR. According to available information, State President Mikhail Gorbachev considers the presence of Soviet troops in the GDR or in Germany as a "central issue." Independent of the decision of an all-German government, Bonn agrees to the presence of the Soviet Army in the future laender of East Germany.

According to Western findings, about 400,000 Soviet soldiers are currently stationed in the GDR. There are five armies of the ground forces with 10 tank divisions, eight motorized rifle divisions, and one artillery division. The army staffs are stationed in Neubrandenburg (2d Guard Army), Eberswalde (20th Guard Army), Dresden (1st Guard Army), Weimar (8th Guard Army), and Magdeburg (3d Assault Army). The "Western Group" has about 7,000 combat tanks, 3,300 artillery guns, and 400 multiple-rocket launchers. The Soviet air forces in the GDR are united in the 24th Tactical Air Force Army. They have about 1,530 combat planes and 530 combat helicopters. The Soviet units in the GDR are the most powerful of the Soviet Army in general.

German Membership in NATO, Warsaw Pact Viewed

AU2404115690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Apr 90 p 2

[Frank Wehner commentary: "Doubled Germany"]

[Text] Shevardnadze did not claim to have found the philosopher's stone. The Soviet foreign minister readily admitted that his proposal on a dual membership of a united Germany in NATO and the Warsaw Pact is unorthodox and still unfinished. But, of course, it provides food for thought.

Apparently, leading NATO circles do not want to take the trouble. The answer came from Washington and Brussels like a shot: "Not desirable."

It would certainly be normal to express doubts. After all, something unprecedented is suggested and instructions on its concrete implementation have not been delivered free of charge by Moscow, where the idea has just been born.

However, in the world of today such a total abstinence from thinking, as revealed by the reaction of the West, is abnormal. Thus, confidence in the future, which will result in a maximum of security for the Germans and all peoples, is not promoted.

The aversion to thinking is probably mainly due to the lack of real preparedness to create a unified and really peaceful and democratic Europe together with the united Germany. According to negative Western commentaries, double membership involves the danger that the military blocs, which already have an identity crisis, will completely lose their meaning.

This is a dreadful vision only for those who are of the opinion that NATO is the best organization that was ever developed for Europe. Consideration of Shevardnadze's proposal will be worth while for all those who want the future Germany to be part of a continent which is completely different from NATO's greater Europe.

Intra-German Talks on State Treaty Begin

LD2504115490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1057 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The German-German expert talks on the state treaty began today in the Council of Ministers building in Berlin. The delegations are headed by Dr. Guenter Krause, parliamentary state secretary to the GDR prime minister, and Bundesbank Director Hans Tietmeyer. The experts come from the areas of the economy, finance, the judiciary, the social sector, and banks. Krause told ADN that the first point for discussion is the timetable for official negotiations. According to circles around the state secretary, it will be possible to tell only during the talks if they will end today or will be continued tomorrow.

Government Spokesman on Talks

LD2504134290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1244 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The official negotiations on a state treaty between the GDR and the FRG may begin this week, and by the weekend at the latest. GDR Government spokesman Matthias Gehler announced this to the international press in Berlin this afternoon. On the basis of talks between Premier de Maiziere and Federal Chancellor Kohl in Bonn yesterday, all cabinet members have received a working document on this, which is, however, subject to continuing amendment, and would therefore not be published.

The government spokesman reported that the cabinet had also discussed the growing number of demonstrations by farmers against the problems of marketing and selling GDR agricultural products. The relevant minister, Dr. Pollack, has been instructed to submit a draft on the central licencing of Western products. [passage omitted] Gehler announced that the government thanked the country's roundtable. With the elections on 6 May, its work would be taken over by authorized people's representative bodies. [passage omitted] Gehler was appearing at the first event of the initiative committee "Press conference capital Berlin," which, as an organ of the media and journalists based in Berlin, will offer the government a weekly opportunity of reporting on current events and answering questions. It was headed by radio journalist Annerose Srocke.

Gysi on Unified Germany, Opposition's Role

AU2504080590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21-22 Apr 90 p 5

["Excerpts" of speech by Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism, at the People's Chamber session in Berlin on 20 April: "The Most Important Task of the Opposition: Checking on the Government"]

[Text] Mr. Premier:

Already during your statement, you will have noticed that there was frequent applause from the benches of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], because certain humanistic, democratic, rule-of-law positions and views on international obligations were expressed, which correspond to our positions.

In contrast to the events in other parliaments, we will try to engage in disputes over matters only when it is appropriate. If there is agreement, we will not hesitate to say so.

The PDS group considers it a great responsibility of the government to strengthen the self-assurance and self-confidence of the people in their own strength. Our group will work with determination for the establishment of a state based on the rule of law and to free many people from the fear of being thrust to the margins of society and treated in an undemocratic way. Together we should act against intolerance, wherever it emerges, even if it emerges here in this house.

We welcome your statement, Mr. Premier, which you made on good neighborliness and friendship with the peoples in the East and in the West and, in particular, with those of the Soviet Union. We also welcome your statement that the social and ecological problems of the Third World are immeasurably larger than our own problems, and that we are obligated to make a contribution to a more just international economic order.

We welcome your obvious intention to head a sovereign GDR Government. In this respect, you will always have our support.

Never must there be a situation in which you would be forced after 6 May—that is, after the local elections—to admit that a 1:1 rate in the negotiations with the FRG Government could not be enforced.

Let me now comment on some aspects of the government statement from the viewpoint of the opposition, which is critical.

We find that in the government statement the question of German unification was not sufficiently integrated into the process of European unification. The peoples in Europe, however, have a right not to fear a united Germany.

United Germany Must Be Demilitarized

A new Germany must not change the balance of power between East and West, either. Therefore, the idea that a future, larger Germany will be a member of NATO is unacceptable for us. In our view, it must be demilitarized. This also removes the issue of membership in military blocs. Of course, at the same time the dissolution of the military blocs should be striven for. But if this is not possible, a new Germany must not be the source of military danger.

And for this an internationally controlled and guaranteed demilitarization is the safest means. You did not commit yourself to such a goal in your government statement. But you spoke of the fact that Germany is to

form a bridge between East and West. However, the coalition agreement, which envisages NATO membership—at least temporarily—for the new Germany is in contrast to this. The fact that you, Mr. Premier, did not comment on this question, cannot necessarily lead to the conclusion that you want to rule out NATO membership for the united Germany.

In this connection, there is also the fact that you did not comment on the issue of military service in your government statement. We still proceed from the premise that the abolition of compulsory military service in the GDR by the end of 1990 would be an important contribution to demilitarization. It would also act as an example for adequate legislative measures in the FRG.

Against Accession Via Article 23

We will not come to any agreement on the question of the path toward German unity. On behalf of the PDS group, I say that we are resolutely against the GDR's accession via Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law. In our view, such a step is linked with considerable political, juridical, and psychological disadvantages. Overcoming the division includes sufficiently dealing with the history of the division. This division was never a unilateral act. It is undisputed that the then FRG Government under Chancellor Adenauer also had a major share in this—Adenauer himself said that he preferred to have all of half of Germany than to have half of all of Germany.

Juridically, the disadvantages are considerable. Of course, conditions for accession can be negotiated in the interest of the GDR citizens. However, these conditions can be agreed on only between the GDR Government and the FRG Government. As soon as accession is completed, the GDR and, thus, the partner to the treaty with the FRG Government will vanish. No one could prevent a German parliament from rescinding these conditions. Therefore, it is incorrect when you cite the example of the Saarland. There on 23 October 1954, as part of the Paris Treaties, there was an agreement between the FRG and the government of the French Republic on the Saar Statute. In addition, on 27 October 1956 the so-called Luxembourg State Treaties were concluded by the foreign ministers of the FRG, the Saarland, and France. Thus, even after the Saarland had been integrated into the FRG, there remained a partner to the treaty, who was authorized to enforce the observation of the international law treaties. This partner was France.

If the GDR accedes to the FRG, such a partner to the treaty would not exist. Therefore, any conditions, which are negotiated prior to accession, would have a very weak juridical basis.

Therefore, we are striving for a German unification, which gives rise to a new German state, which is not only better than today's GDR but also better than today's FRG. This new subject under international law would have to be the legal successor of the GDR and the FRG. All agreements should be made under international law. For us it is clear in this connection that in particular the rights to property and use of GDR and FRG citizens must be preserved in such a way as they came about in line with the respective valid law of the one country or the other.

Such a process of unification would also make clear that German unification would be concluded and that in the future Germany must not make any claims for territory on anyone.

In this process the psychological side must not be underestimated, either. There is a difference in whether our people join the FRG and are just accepted by the FRG people with some sort of generous gesture and will, therefore, have the feeling of inferiority from the very start. The goal must be for the citizens of both states to find a new identity. How topical this problem is is shown by the fact that the FRG Government has a complete draft of a state treaty on the economic, monetary, and social union, in which it obviously advocates the view that our government has to basically accept it. However, this treaty deprives our government of so many sovereign rights from the very beginning that governing would then be possible only within a very narrow leeway.

After all, we also have demands. I am thinking not only of reparations and training expenditures, but also of the fact that since January 1990 we have paid considerable subsidies for goods and services which benefit FRG citizens and West Berliners. It would be the smallest thing if the FRG Government were to pay that back.

And when I repeatedly heard here during the discussion yesterday that the only thing that is decisive is the speed at which German unification is achieved, I have to answer that the decisive thing is the quality of such a process. Because every mistake committed during this process of unification will have an effect for years, if not for decades, on the fate of the citizens in this country and in the FRG, perhaps also on the fate of other peoples in Europe.

Furthermore, your government statement contained a program, which is geared to at least one full legislative period. This, at least, shows some sense of reality.

Permit me to make some brief statements on some other aspects of the government statement. You spoke of the rule of law, but not of a new constitution. The reason for this became clear during yesterday's Question Hour.

In my view, from the position of a state based on the rule of law, it is completely unacceptable to say on the one hand that one does not recognize a constitution and, at the same time, to say that one will not accept a new one. And that, after all, one accepts the fact that the constitution of 1968 continues to be valid. And I find it rather strange when the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, Democratic Awakening, and the German Social Union are in favor of keeping this constitution in force, while the PDS is for a new one. However, this shows the changes in the processes in this country.

(Gregor Gysi was unable to deliver the following passage because of the short speaking time; however, we do not want to withhold it from our readers because it contains important PDS positions)

Economic Policy Requires Social Support Measures

As far as economic policy is concerned we agree that market mechanisms must be introduced to a much greater degree. However, we need social support measures at all stages. Unemployment must never be the price for higher economic efficiency. Neither can we accept social benefits being cut in the spheres of children's care, single parent families, or the handicapped.

If this is to be prevented we need the appropriate framework conditions so that the market mechanisms work in a social way and do not run wild. You mentioned yourself the example of the print media and demanded an antitrust law in this connection. However, this will not be enough. Looking at what happened in the past few weeks it becomes obvious that the media tycoons are only interested in their market shares.

They do not care at all for the social concerns of the journalists, typesetters, and printers in the GDR. Sunday speeches will show little effect, and the antitrust law alone cannot stop such a development either. Much rather it is necessary to apply the customs law, to levy fees, and to make sure that the media tycoons no longer violate the law banning unfair competition when they try to ruin the print media in the GDR through selling their products at dumping prices. To prevent any misunderstanding I must point out that we have absolutely nothing against the distribution of FRG magazines and newspapers in the GDR.

Another example is the agricultural sector. If we do not introduce sufficient protective mechanisms, hundreds of thousands of peasants and working people in the food industry will lose their jobs in the production process. You mentioned such social protective mechanisms, but failed to provide any details.

We start from the premise that—as in other countries—in the GDR, too, we also must introduce protective duties in order to preserve the domestic economy—that is, the domestic agricultural sector—and to give it the appropriate opportunities to be competitive.

We agree with you that institutions for children, youth clubs, and other institutions that are in the interest of our citizens must be preserved. However, in this context we would also have expected that you provide details of how this should happen. We believe that, if such enterprises that provide such installations are to remain competitive, it is not enough to grant them tax concessions. We think that enterprises that do not provide such social installations should be forced to pay extra taxes, which would give the communities the possibility to set up such institutions.

In accordance with many economic experts in the GDR and the FRG the PDS parliamentary group believes that the monetary union is not the first important step to make the GDR economy more efficient.

It would have been much better to make our currency convertible and to attain an efficient economy this way, so that the consequences of a monetary union—namely, the shutdown of a great number of enterprises—could be avoided.

Since the government has now decided to follow this path, we agree that it is necessary to provide a welfare network at the same time. The problem of unemployment is not only a question of financing unemployment benefits. It is also a psychological problem. It is not only the situation of those concerned that matters, of people that feel superfluous, but also the effects on their families and the pressure on those that still have jobs. Your reference to retraining possibilities is not satisfactory, because once the monetary union is introduced overnight, a large number of enterprises will have to close down, and it will be impossible to implement the necessary measures to create new jobs and introduce retraining programs by the planned date, 1 July 1990.

Will Education Again Be Linked to Money?

We agree that we urgently need an education reform. It is also necessary to substantially increase the general humanistic knowledge of our pupils. We also have no objections to different education systems. However, you failed to mention whether this involves problems of financing. The PDS group will absolutely refuse to support a path that leads to linking the way and quantity of education to how much money the parents have.

We resolutely support the extension of the rights of the working people, and therefore we consider the plan to give up the trade union law only an attempt to considerably reduce the opportunities of the workers and employees in the framework of future market mechanisms to the advantage of those that provide the capital.

We also support the promotion of the health sector, of art and culture, research, science, and teaching. However, as far as subsidies for the arts and for culture are concerned, we would have expected more specific statements in order to reduce the justified fears of our artists and persons engaged in the cultural sector.

We regret that no mention was made of the situation of the Sorbs in our country. We start from the premise that they must be included in the development of our country with equal rights, and that our Constitution must grant them autonomous rights for the cultivation of their own culture, language, and traditions, and rights guaranteeing them an influence in the political decisionmaking process.

(The following passage was again delivered)

Esteemed Mr. Premier: The most important task of the opposition is to check the activities of the government. Therefore you will have to concede that we measure government policy by your government declaration. Judging by certain statements from the ranks of your coalition, we are greatly concerned that you might become lonely. Therefore, you must understand our declaration also as an expression of our respect for you.

The PDS group will support anything that serves the well-being of the citizens of the GDR, peace, security, general disarmament, and the solution of the global problems of mankind.

Agriculture Minister on Market Transition Problems

AU2404201590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21-22 Apr 90 p 3

[Interview with Agriculture Minister Peter Pollack by Rosi Blaschke and Rainer Bekeschus; place and date not given: "I Plead for a Green Border"]

[Text] [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Congratulations, Mr. Minister, on the occasion of your appointment to office. The peasants in the GDR are now drawing a lot of attention to their problems. They call for measures that will make the transition to a market economy easier for them. What will be done to meet their demands?

[Pollack] The government declaration contains a very precise statement in this connection, it establishes that we will try very hard to provide all possible protection for our agricultural sector. What is important is to ensure that the transition to the market economy takes place in a acceptable way. In the short term, we will try to table a motion in the next Cabinet meeting that will call for measures to greatly reduce the uncontrolled influx of foods and luxury foods. We intend to create a body for the licensing of such imports, as we do not want to take them away from our population the FRG has a similar institution.

I have also discussed with my colleagues from the Trade Ministry the possibility of promoting, for example, meat processing in smaller enterprises in the country. Moreover, there is a whole range of well-equipped plants, for example in the National People's Army, where quite a few things could be produced and then sold to the public from mobile shops. Moreover, in the second quarter of this year we intend to further increase the export of livestock in order to reduce stocks that are too large and too old. This is a burden from the past that is hindering us. The new government must solve this problem because the old one waited too long.

In the field of dairy production we are also facing sales problems. The reason for this lies in the demand of past years; namely to produce as much as possible, which is why the number of cattle is too high in the GDR. There is overproduction on the one side and declining consumption on the other. This will continue. In the medium term we must improve the situation in the foods production industry and become competitive. Generally, in the agricultural sector, we need a transition period of approximately five years before we reach the market economy. In plain German this means that I plead for a "green border."

We want an agricultural policy that has a varied structure, is guided by ecological principles, and provides socially tolerable conditions. It is also the responsibility of the agricultural sector to take care of the countryside. The state must promote this.

I ask the GDR peasants to solve all these problems together.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] How do you perceive the future of the agricultural sector in the GDR?

[Pollack] I see great chances for our agriculture. We do not want to destroy all our structures. The government declaration gives clear priority to cooperative farming, this combined with improved framework conditions, better technology, and all necessary conditions will enable us to achieve high productivity. In a future united Germany, the agricultural sector will have to work under different structures in the West and East.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] When will you meet your colleague, FRG Minister Ignaz Kiechle, what will you discuss with him?

[Pollack] Mr. Kiechle is now very busy in Brussels discussing agricultural prices. We will meet in early May. From the current point of view I think that our talks will concentrate on the development of the structures in our GDR agriculture and the Green Border.

Pohl Views Investment, Employment Prospects

LD2404125990 Hamburg DPA in German 1126 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Hamburg (DPA/VWD)—GDR Economics Minister Gerhard Pohl (Christian Democratic Union [CDU]) aims to repeal "very soon" the law on joint ventures adopted by the Modrow government. Pohl confirmed to the newspaper 'BILD' (Wednesday edition) that this will open the way for federal citizens to buy up to 100 percent in the GDR. However, GDR citizens will receive a first option. Pohl also announced that all enterprise director posts in publicly owned enterprises will be reoffered and that enterprise directors "who gained the job through the party" will soon disappear.

The minister expects at the most 200,00 unemployed in the GDR, which, if necessary, will have to be accepted. Currently there are 38,000. Pohl announced that he wants to create 500,000 new jobs. [passage omitted]

Wilhelm-Pieck University Renamed Rostock

AU2404124890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Apr 90 p 3

[Bernd Grabowski report: "University Adopts New Name"]

[Excerpt] Wilhelm-Pieck University will in the future simply be called Rostock University. It was named after the first president of the GDR on 8 January 1978 by a resolution of the then Council of Ministers. At the beginning of this month, 79.2 percent of the scientists, staff, and students who participated in the ballot, voted in favor of the change. However, only 55.1 percent of those entitled to vote actually participated in the ballot. [passage omitted]

New Leipzig Fair To Be Held in May

AU2404125690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21-22 Apr 90 p 3

[ADN report: "New in Leipzig: Fair Also in May"]

[Text] Bonn/Leipzig (ADN)—Leipzig will get a new fair in May. In addition to the traditional spring and autumn fairs, invitations to an international technical fair for energy and environment are planned every two years. The first event from 14 to 18 May 1990 will be held under the auspices of FRG Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann.

Soviet General on Troop Management in Hungary

LD2404165390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] The commander of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary denied that returning units are leaving their apartments and barracks behind in a dilapidated state. General Burlakov says in the Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA that the Soviet Army allocates one billion forints annually for the renovation of its establishments in Hungary and it has also spent significant sums for improving comfort.

The general disputes the statement of Brigadier General Antal Annus, published in MAGYAR HIRLAP. He says the troops food supply is partially ensured from the Soviet Union and they buy it from Hungarian enterprises with their own money. In his statement, the commander of the Southern Army Unit says the Soviet soldiers did not sell weapons and ammunition in Hungary and he rejects the accusation that some people in Hungary call the liberating mission of the Soviet Army an invasion.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal To Accelerate

LD2404171590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Our country and the Soviet Union are still unable to agree on how and when the sides should make a statement of accounts concerning the buildings vacated by the departure of Soviet troops. At the experts' discussions in Budapest, the Soviet partners again rejected the Hungarian demand that the Soviet Union should pay for the property-conservation work, which it had failed to do for Hungarian-owned buildings. Despite differences in opinion, there was agreement that the Soviet troop withdrawal from Hungary would be accelerated, and that henceforth the trains would set off on holidays and days of rest, too.

Defense Communique on Troop Withdrawal Talks

LD2404201190 Budapest MTI in English 1845 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 24 (MTI)—The Hungarian Ministry of Defence has forwarded a communique to MTI.

Accordingly, a series of talks on current issues of withdrawing the Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Hungary came to an end on Tuesday in the Ministry of Defence. The talks were headed by Brigadier General Antal Annus of Hungary and Colonel General Matvei Burlakov of the Soviet Union. Government commissioners, and experts of the two countries were present.

A Soviet expert group, whose members represented ten Soviet ministries, arrived in Hungary to prepare the conference in mid-April. The Soviet experts first visited various Soviet troops and military objects, then held talks in the headquarters command of the Southern Army Group. From the second half of last week, Hungarian experts also held talks with the representatives of the Soviet side on the technical, economic, commercial and other issues related to implementing the troops pull-out.

At Tuesday's session, the sides reviewed the experiences of the pull-out. They state that of the 1,769 railway trains scheduled to be used for the pull-out—of which 1,352 would transport only soldiers and military equipment—91 military trains, and passenger and freight trains have left the area of Hungary. This accords to the plans.

The sides agreed that 24-hour, continuous railway transport will have to be ensured in the intensive stage of the troops withdrawal that began on April 20, as this stage requires better scheduled loading and transport work than in the past. Both sides accepted the obligation to pay increased attention to continuously ensuring the necessary conditions in the vicinity of the Zahony transfer station.

The position of the sides has neared in several matters in economic, financial and other issues.

Budapest, April 24 (MTI)—[second dateline as received] With respect to the transfer and reception of the various objects used by the Southern Army Group, progress has been made as a result of the expert talks on creating the methods to realistically appraise the condition of these objects, in the detailed timetable of the transfer, and in determining the sphere of experts to participate in this. It was also agreed that more continuous cooperation should be created between the two sides in this.

At the same time, the expert talks did not yield results in several matters. Differences in views continue to exist between the sides regarding the legality of the Hungarian financial claims submitted for the unrealized maintenance care of the buildings and objects owned by Hungary and used by the Soviet Army. The Soviet side does not accept the demands of the Hungarian side, and insists on observing Article No. 8 of the Inter-Governmental Agreement of 1958, under which the facilities to be handed back by the Soviet troops will be transferred in the technical condition existing on the day of their being returned to the Hungarian side. The Soviet side invariably persists in immediate accounting after the transfer of the facilities, while according to the Hungarian position, this should be carried out in the form of a last settlement—in one sum, instead of in parts—following the complete withdrawal of troops.

However, these differences in views cannot impede implementation of the troops withdrawal, and the two government commissioners were unanimous in their views that further expert talks and, if need be, decisions on a higher level will be required to create a jointly acceptable position.

Government To Extend Parties' Property Leases

LD2404171890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] The government agreed with the parties to extend the leasing contracts of the parties' real estates, which originally expire this month, until the end of the year. Government Commissioner (Botond Bertsenyi) said at the consultation that the FIDESZ [Federation of Democratic Youth] and the Christian Democratic People's Party asked for better conditions for their headquarters than the present ones.

The Smallholders Party would like to get back its earlier property, in which, there is the headquarters of the Patriotic People's Front at the moment. It is expected that the problem of the Hungarian Democratic Forum will also be solved because from the center in Bem square, a small firm will shortly move out.

The Hungarian Socialist Party, incidentally, gave back more than 2,100 properties but the government commissioner did not know how many buildings are still in the care of the party. The new government is expected to decide the fate of the headquarters in Mari Jaszai square. The Hungarian Socialist Party has already returned its one time center of Pest county; it offered the Foreign Office guest house in the Mihaly Munkacsy Street for joint use with the other parties.

Coalition Partners Agree on Land Ownership

LD2504024490 Budapest MTI in English 1251 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 23, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) and the Independent Smallholders Party, the two most powerful parties in the three-party coalition which will form Hungary's new government, have reached agreement on a fundamental issue that determines their relationship: land ownership.

The Smallholders' Party originally made their participation in a coalition government conditional on the others' acceptance of their agricultural policy, and have also claimed the agricultural portfolio.

The MDF, which secured 42 per cent of the votes at the March-April parliamentary elections, has some reservations over the Smallholders' position that in order to legally settle the land issue in Hungary one has to revert to the pre-1947 state of land ownership by which all land would be returned to either those who held it before 1947 or their heirs.

The MDF opposed such a policy on the grounds that agricultural production would fall, as many of those repossessing land would not not know how to farm it.

In the end a compromise solution was found by separating the right of ownership from the right of use of the land, a move which will allow most of the cooperative farms to continue operations by paying rent to the new landlords. A clause was also inserted into the agreement prohibiting the use of farmland for anything other than agricultural purposes, thereby heading off attempts at land speculation for building.

The Smallholders have, however succeeded in their aim of restoring land to private ownership.

While the cooperatives, which farm 5.5 million hectares of the country's 9.3 million hectares of farmland, paid compensation, albeit paltry, to the former owners for 3.5 million hectares in the 1970s, the rest of the farmland is still formally registered under the names of the former owners.

When the Land Act was modified in January this year, compensation as such ended on the grounds that the cooperatives could decide themselves how much they were willing to pay for the land. The law rules that hereafter cooperatives registered owners should agree on the use of lands.

It is reckoned that cooperatives will have to spend an extra 42 billion forints on rents to all former owners if the compromise worked out passes on the statute book, triggering 32 per cent food price rises.

Last year cooperative farms made total profits of 19 billion forints (320 million USD), however the increase over those of 1988 amounted to only half of the 17 per cent annual inflation rate.

Smallholders Official on Land Ownership Concept

AU2504111990 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Apr 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Ferenc Nagy, deputy chairman of the Independent Smallholders Party, by Vera Lendvai; place and date not given: "The Smallholders Do Not Want A New Land Distribution"]

[Excerpts] Do the smallholders feel that their agricultural land concept of restoring the conditions prevailing in 1947 has met with the opposition of a considerable part of our society? We started our interview with this issue.

[Nagy] I am glad you asked me about this because we can clear up a lot of misunderstandings. The Smallholders' Party would like to regard the conditions prevailing in 1947 as a starting point not only concerning the land issue, but also concerning its agricultural program. The main issue is to settle the ownership conditions and all the irregularities. The stipulations of the land law legislated in 1945 were carried out by 31 December 1947. However, there were a lot of irregularities under the conditions prevailing at the time, and these violations of the law must be settled both legally and morally. These violations hurt the peasants' honesty and honor. These wounds should be healed because it is extremely difficult to create a new society with offended people.

[Lendvai] In other words, you do not want to destroy things that work well?

[Nagy] Not at all. We want to create the sanctity of the right of ownership and the possibility of inheritance. Even the Rakosi-regime observed part of the right to inherit land. We can legally prove the property, and the land registers can be found, but all this takes time. [passage omitted]

[Lendvai] However, as far as I know, there is a debate going on concerning your concept?

[Nagy] Yes, there is a debate. I think we must make it clear that we do not want a new land distribution, but we want to settle the right of ownership. We are also tolerant in this respect. Unfortunately, we did not make this clear enough. If a peasant waited patiently for 40 years hoping that the offenses would finally be settled, certainly we can still ask for a moratorium of one or two years. We need time to extricate them from the current chaotic situation and to track down the owners. Market conditions will also change in this time and there will certainly be interest in owning, buying, or renting agricultural land. [passage omitted]

[Lendvai] There is uncertainty in the agricultural cooperatives. What is your opinion about this?

[Nagy] We do not want to dismantle the large-scale enterprises. We need them. The owners are not coming forward in such great numbers as to endanger the joint property of the cooperatives or to break up the joint land of the large-scale agricultural enterprises into small pieces. According to our survey, only about 5-10 percent of the members will ask for their lands back. In my opinion, the change will reside in the fact that, while their territory will drop to 90 percent, the large-scale enterprises will provide services to the small enterprises. We also need the huge intellectual capital, the agricultural intellectuals working in large-scale agricultural enterprises. [passage omitted]

[Lendvai] Have you considered the fact that small enterprises need machines, installations, and capital, something that most of the peasants do not have?

[Nagy] We considered everything, and Japanese, FRG, and Italian firms are interested in exporting small agricultural machines, in the form of either leasing or renting. [passage omitted]

Smallholders Prepare for Elections, Interim

LD2404184190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] It is no longer news that opinions do not concur within the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP], even concerning basic issues. Jozsef Orosz has just noticed indications of this at a consultation held by the party, concerning self-government and local elections.

[Begin Orosz recording] According to the Smallholders' party, until the local elections on 8 September, the operation of council bodies must be halted, or their mandates, which expire on 8 June, should not be extended by anyone. At the same time, a three-member body appointed by government should take part, with a right of veto, in the sessions of the executive committees, as operative bodies. The Smallholders consider it necessary that participants in the executive committee sessions should also include representatives of the parties which fielded national lists. The twelve would be there to ensure the full openness of the sessions. In this Smallholders' party scheme explained by Arpad Gyorgi, expert adviser to Jozsef Torgyan, after the council law is amended, government would appoint a three-member experts' body independent of parties—for the sake of simplicity I would call this a council curatorship. While at the same time, place would be given at the council sessions to the parties, thereby representing public opinion, on which unequivocal judgment was passed by the votes in the elections, since they did not get into parliament. Therefore, it could easily happen that while these parties do not have a say concerning national affairs, for lack of a parliamentary representation, they nevertheless are present when local decisions are made. As it was said, they had not coordinated their stand with their coalition partners.

Concerning the party's internal matters, it was said at the news conference that the Peasants' Alliance [paraszt szovetseg] supported by the Smallholders, whose number one man is also the party's leader, could shortly turn into a party. To my question, Jeno Gerbovits, general secretary [national secretary of the FKGP], did not call this a party split, but the democratic battle of fractions within the party, within the peasant party. Otherwise, it nonetheless would be interesting if within a party, another newly formed party were also to operate.

That competent sources in the Smallholders did not deny the strengthening of the Peasants' Alliance on the one hand indicates the dissatisfaction of the peasantry, vis-a-vis the party, while on the other hand the peasantry wants to obtain an independent interest-representation. The Smallholders will decide on this at the national meeting over the weekend. [end recording]

National Assembly Committees To Be Established

LD2404214190 Budapest MTI in English 1905 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 24 (MTI)—The new Hungarian National Assembly will set up ten permanent, and five special committees at its session in early May, experts of the parliamentary parties and representatives of the independent M.P.s authorized with preparing the founding session of the National Assembly agreed at their meeting on Tuesday.

No agreement was reached on the number of committee members. The majority agreed with the proposal for the committees to have 23 members.

The permanent committees of the new parliament are as follows:

—Constitutional, Legislative and Judicial,
—Self-Government, Public Administration, Internal Security and Police.
—Foreign Affairs,
—Defense,
—Budgetary, Tax and Financial,
—Economic,
—Social-Welfare and Health,
—Environmental Protection,
—Culture, Education, Scientific, Sports, Television and the Press,
—Human Rights, Minority, Religious Affairs.

In case the permanent committees will have 23 members, the Hungarian Democratic Forum will be able to delegate 10 M.P.s, the Alliance of Free Democrats 6, the Independent Smallholders' Party 3, the Hungarian Socialist Party 2, the Christian Democratic People's Party and the Federation of Young Democrats one MP each.

The sphere of activity and names of the five special committees were also approved. Accordingly, there will be a House Committee, Steering Committee, Election and Mandate Examining Committee, Immunity and Incompatibility (Control) Committee, and national Security Committee.

It was announced that Otto Habsburg, president of the European parliament Committee dealing with Hungary, and the Italian and Spanish vice-presidents of this body, will be present at the session as guests of the National Assembly.

At the talks, the representatives of the parties approved the proposal of the Federation of Young Democrats, according to which the first law to be passed by the new parliament should state that a revolution and freedom fight took place in Hungary in 1956.

MDF Rejects Accusation of Anti-Semitism

LD2404230690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] rejects insinuations by certain leaders of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] that anti-Semitism played a role in the MDF's election success. They also implied that the responsibility for the desecration of the Wallenberg monument should also fall on the organization.

The statement points out that the MDF considers members of the SZDSZ, just like every citizen of the country, as their fellow countrymen and it does not question their goodwill towards the interest of the country's sovereignty and democratization. At the same time, the MDF hopes that the other party will reciprocate the trust shown toward them. The MDF leadership considers the dispute initiated by SZDSZ to be closed.

HDF Presidium Denies Membership Freeze

LD2404185390 Budapest MTI in English 1608 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 24 (MTI)—'Rumours, according to which the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] had ordered a freeze in the acceptance of new members, are not true', the HDF national Presidium notes in a statement forwarded to MTI.

The membership of the HDF steadily increases, and the number of local organizations is also on the rise. The Democratic Forum headquarters was unable to provide exact data as there was so much work related to the elections over the past weeks that the staff was unable to register the membership cards.

At present, there are some 30,000 HDF members. Local organizations are continuously being set up: Two weeks ago, the party's vice-President reported there were 460 local organizations, but their number rose to over 510 by today.

Hungarian People's Party Presidium, Board Resign

LD2404215890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] The Presidium and board of the Hungarian People's Party have resigned, so that the membership can elect a new leadership at the national meeting in June. The main task of the meeting will be to prepare the local elections in the autumn. One of the losers in the elections, the Hungarian People's Party, still lays a claim for its former headquarters.

World Bank To Assist Telecommunications Upgrade

LD2404171390 Budapest MTI in English 1100 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 24, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Telegraph and Data Transmission Directorate of the Hungarian Telecommunications Company is to spend U.S. $20.5 million on the purchase and installation of six new telex exchanges as part of a modernisation programme to be partially be financed by the World Bank.

As a result of an international competition, the Hungarian Telecommunications Company have bought four of the six electronic, program-controlled telex exchanges from Sagem, of France, to replace the antiquated telex exchanges at Szolnok and Miskolc, in eastern Hungary, and at Szombathely and Kaposvar, in western Hungary.

Weiss Technik, an Austrian firm, is to supply the air-conditioning, while Houvenaghel, also of France, are to

install the power supply systems. Hungarian subcontractors have been employed to carry out the construction work.

The replacement of the Szolnok's 500-line electromechanical exchange with a modern 1,000-line exchange is expected to be completed as early as June, at a cost of around 130 million Forints (U.S. $2 million), while the 900-line exchange at Szombathely will be installed, also at around 130 million Forints, in the second half of the year, together with an 800-line exchange at Kaposvar.

The fourth 1,400-line exchange worth 145 million Forints (U.S. $2.2 million) will be put into service in Miskolc at the end of the year.

A further two telex and data transmission centres—one worth 600 million Forints (U.S. $9.2 million) in Budapest and the other worth 300 million Forints (U.S. $4.6 million) in Debrecen—will be installed in Hungary with World Bank support, by Siemens of Munich.

The six new telex exchanges will expand Hungary's telex service capacities by an estimated 25 per cent.

New Customs Law To Be Implemented 1 Jan 91

LD2404172190 Budapest MTI in English
1115 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 23, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—A new customs law will come into force in Hungary on January 1 1991 which will bring in a uniform customs duty for products imported both as part of trade agreements and by individuals.

Individual customs duties have been brought down, first from 45 per cent to 30 per cent, then to 17 per cent, which corresponds to the average trade tariffs. A further 25 per cent is added to the 17 per cent tariff in VAT [value-added tax].

The unification of the two customs tariffs, is aimed at creating equal conditions for the state and private sectors.

Long-term plans by the Customs and Excise Office envisage a reduction to 8 per cent of the average customs tariff, which is also made necessary by Hungary's obligations as a GATT member.

Last year the Hungarian Customs and Excise Office imposed customs duties of 44.3 billion forints (680 million USD) - 125.5 billion forints (1.5 billion USD) with VAT . This compares to the corresponding 1988 figures of 33.1 and 94.4 billion forints.

Equipment imported into Hungary as the foreign contribution to JVS [expansion unknown] will remain exempt from duty. In 1989 such imports were valued at 3.7 billion forints (57 million USD), resulting in 730 million forints' worth of exemptions.

Lawyers Excluded for '56 Activities Reinstated

LD2404184790 Budapest MTI in English
1454 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 24 (MTI)—More than 800 lawyers excluded from the bar in 1958 for their political activity during the 1956 revolution were rehabilitated in the Ministry of Justice on Tuesday.

At the meeting attended by 90 lawyers, Minister Kalman Kulcsar recalled that over the past few decades both the courts and the bar had lost their independence. Concerning the concrete violations of law, Mr Kulcsar pointed out that the consequences of the unlawful sentences imposed on hundreds of thousands of people, and the injustices done over the past five decades could not be revised and remedied in a matter of one year or two.

After the minister's speech, the emotions held back for many years broke out of the lawyers who found it deleterious that they were still asked for displaying patience and still fed with empty promises while those who could be blamed for the expulsion and, in general, for ruining the country received high pensions or lived on their wealth piled up in some cases by illegal means. Some lawyers demanded to call the state and political leaders who ruled the country over the past decades to account. The rehabilitated lawyers demanded to be considered members of the bar and increase their pension to the sum which is granted to the retired lawyers of their age.

Jaruzelski 'Highly' Assesses Talks in USSR

LD2304154690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Studio interview with President Wocjiech Jaruzelski by unidentified correspondent; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] You have recently paid an official visit to the Soviet Union. Which elements of that visit have left their strongest mark on your memory, Mr. President?

[Jaruzelski] Perhaps I'll reply like this, that the visit had a great political importance and in some degree even economic, and an unusually large moral and emotional significance. If one directs oneself by that second approach, then the stay in Lvov has left a particular mark on my memory. I was, after all, in that beautiful city for the first time in my life, but it is close to our tradition, our history, to our way of feeling. The meeting with representatives of the Lvov Polonia was very warm. At the same time the visit to the Lyczakowski cemetery made an impression on us. At the Orleta cemetery we sang together Marsz, Marsz Polonia, at that meeting. Later I shared such thoughts and reflections, that recently we had bowed our heads at the Lyczakowski cemetery at the grave of Wladyslaw Belza [Polish poet], the one who taught us [the poem], Who are you little Pole? We bowed our heads at the grave of Maria Konopnicka [Polish novelist], who taught us: [patriotic line from a poem] Don't abandon the land from whence we came. We were among the graves of the Lvov insurgents of 1830 and 1863 in the Orleta cemetery, and thus a deep, emotional, patriotic experience, and that has remained firmly in my memory.

Naturally, the second such unusually strong, undoubtedly stronger and deeper, feeling and experience was Katyn. I must say some more about that.

[Reporter] Exactly, you took part in the ceremonies which took place in Katyn, you brought back a file of documents connected with the Katyn tragedy. What do they contain?

[Jaruzelski] You see they are these very ones, in front of us. Mikhail Gorbachev handed them to me. There is a set of documents here of various kinds, including one with Beria's signature, which deal with various orders concerning Polish prisoners of war. There are no explicit instructions here concerning the murder, the killings themselves; they, rather, cover matters of transports, supply, but they very clearly reveal that the fate of these POWs was a foregone conclusion. But what I think is the most valuable is the list of about 15,000, the exact number of 14,793 people, officers whose list is here, which is an unusually important document, not only for historians but for the relatives, for the families, it is a Polish national relic of its kind.

[Reporter] How do you assess the effects of this visit in the Soviet Union.

[Jaruzelski] The visit was very important, very fruitful. I assess the talk with Mikhail Gorbachev particularly highly, it was a talk which lasted more than three hours and was later extended in various other contacts, free and informal ones. We discussed virtually all the basic subjects, and decisions and agreements very favorable to Poland. I would have to say a lot about that, but declarations in the joint communique and toasts have been agreed, those documents were published. I think there will be a great benefit, both politically and in some sense economically, for defense, mutual understanding, a mutual approach to the key problems of our relations and to the international situation.

Soviet Defense Minister Yazov on Brief Visit

Received by Siwicki, Jaruzelski

LD2404144890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] General Dmitriy Yazov, minister of defense of the USSR, had talks during his visit to Warsaw today with Army General Florian Siwicki, Polish minister of defense.

Later he was received by President Wojciech Jaruzelski. The main subject of the talks were the stationing on Polish territory of the Northern Group of Soviet Forces and bilateral settling of accounts.

Received by Mazowiecki

LD2404163490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has received Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, who was on a few hours visit in Warsaw. The guest also met with Minister General Florian Siwicki. The main topic of the talks was the matter of the stationing on Polish territory of the Northern Group of Soviet Forces, including in this mutual account settlement [wzajemne rozliczania].

Yazov Comments on Talks

LD2404181490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Army General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet defense minister, is visiting Warsaw for a few hours. He has spoken to General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, and has been received by the president and premier. This is what Minister Yazov told us prior to the meeting with the premier.

[Begin Yazov recording in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] I have paid a working visit to my forces. General Siwicki invited me for a meeting in Warsaw to exchange views on a number of issues which are of mutual interest. The most important is the stationing of the Northern Group of the Soviet Forces on Polish territory. Still to be discussed are issues such as

the deployment of forces, the joint settling of accounts, the organizing of training and the exchange of students from academies and universities. Premier Mazowiecki expressed the desire to meet me to finalize a series of issues. [end recording]

Departs After Meetings

LD2404181790 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Since 21 April, Army General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet minister of national defense, has been visiting Soviet Army units stationed in Poland.

Today, General Yazov was received by Wojciech Jaruzelski. The guest was also received by Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Problems concerning the temporary stationing and gradual withdrawal of Soviet forces in Poland were discussed in the Ministry of National Defense. Some aspects of the political and military situation in Europe, taking the question of the unification of Germany into particular account, were raised. This afternoon the Soviet delegation left Poland.

New Protocol on Polish-USSR Friendship Signed

LD2004225690 Warsaw PAP in English 2155 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, April 20—A new protocol on cooperation between the Polish-Soviet and Soviet-Polish Friendship Societies and the Union of Friendship Societies of the USSR was signed here today.

The document differs considerably from the ones signed earlier and expresses better the spirit of new times. There are fewer general formulations and ideology and more hard facts in it. The document postulates to expand personal contacts and to develop tourism.

Commission To Negotiate for Artifacts in USSR

LD2304203990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] In a note to the Soviet Government, the Polish Government has raised the matter of negotiations relating to the cultural heritage and restorative claims on artifacts of Polish culture that are located in the territory of the Soviet Union. The names of the members of the Polish delegation that will take part in the work of a bilateral commission are now known. It will be chaired by Professor Aleksandr Gieysztor, chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Solidarity Wraps Up National Congress in Gdansk

Adopts Statute Changes

LD2404131190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] It was decided at the Solidarity congress in Gdansk that the name and logo of the union are its sole property and are legally protected. An entry was also adopted that the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity is independent of state administration bodies, local self-government, and political organizations.

The first two hours of the proceedings were devoted to discussing and deciding on the proposed amendments to the union's statute. It was decided that honorary membership can only be granted by a Solidarity congress according to the regulations passed by the national commission but adopted by a congress.

The delegates also came out in favor of including in the statute of the union an obligation to protect culture and broadly understood education and to counteract unemployment, as well as to provide help for the unemployed, but not only those who are union members.

The delegates decided to leave unaltered the clause which says that the basic territorial unit of the union is a region, covering the territory of at least one voivodship. The discussion on amendments to the statute is still continuing.

In connection with the tragedy at the Wujek mine the congress paid tribute to the memory of the miners with a minute's silence. The congress also decided to send telegrams to the Solidarity enterprise commission of the mine and to the families of the victims.

PAP Roundup of 24 Apr Debate

LD2504064790 Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Gdansk, April 24—The 2nd Solidarity Congress did not close its debate tonight. The discussion is expected to last till Wednesday [25 April] morning.

On the sixth day of their debate, the delegates focused on three most important documents: the programme, statute and resolution on union's finances.

Work on Programme

Today the congress worked on the union's programme. The delegates agreed on a chapter on trade union rights forwarded earlier by Solidarity. The meeting deemed it indispensable to reject the binding law on trade unions saying it limited labour freedoms.

According to delegates, a new bill should be guaranteed the right for all employees to form trade unions regardless of whether a factory is state- or private-owned. This

refers also to those employees who have no right to form trade unions at the moment, mainly those working for the National Defence Ministry and Internal Affairs Ministry.

A new bill would be a confirmation of trade unions being self-governed and independent of employers and state and local authorities and, as it was added after the discussion, of political parties.

Among trade union rights to be guaranteed by a new bill, the delegates mentioned the right to legislative initiative concerning employees affairs. They also deemed it indispensable to supplement the right to strike with a solidarity strike, and said that collective labour contracts should play an important role in labour relations.

Letter by Andrzej Gwiazda

A letter by Andrzej Gwiazda, read to the delegates, was a voice of its kind from the outside in the discussion on the model of the union. Gwiazda recalled that in 1981, he was elected member of the National Commission, that is the sole authority of the union being subordinate but to a national congress.

"If your congress had been really a congress of solidarity, I, as a member of the outgoing authorities, would have presented a report on the activity of the union in front of you," he wrote.

He accused the present leadership of manipulations and wrote: "a decision was ours whether this congress became a congress of Solidarity. Eight million of our members waited for this, they who have not joined your organization, they who have no trade union to confide in, the one that would safeguard their interests."

"I am convinced that you know what resolutions to adopt to make your congress a real 2nd Solidarity congress but you lacked courage. You lacked courage to speak about it during your congress. Do tell the workforces that in the labour struggle, I am always ready to offer advice and assistance according to my possibilities."

Part of delegates welcomed the letter with applause, so did Lech Walesa.

Changes in Statute

The Congress resolved to remove from the solidarity statute a paragraph limiting the rights of trade unions, including the right to strike. They also decided to remove all supplements from the statute: This refers to the entry made in November 1980, on the leading role of the party, and a supplement on the ILO [International Labor Organization]

The document was supplemented with an entry saying that one of the ways of implementing the goals of the union should be its cooperation with local selfgovernments.

The debate decided that union's offices cannot be linked with managerial posts in the state administration, self-government or in political organizations.

The congress also came out in favour of a longer term of office for union's leadership (from two to three years). Major part of delegates voted against a proposal to include in congress debates, apart from delegates of individual regions, representatives of industrial branch and labour sections as delegates. Thus, the congress separated representatives of branch sections from labour activity for at least three years.

The delegates unequivocally chose the Presidium of the National Commission. It comprises, apart from chairman, two deputy chairmen (a novelty awaited since Lech Walesa delivered an opening speech), a secretary, treasurer and other members.

Program Resolution Adopted

LD2504085990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] As has been the case for several days now, the information service begins with Gdansk. Today [words indistinct] will be slowly ending, since the Solidarity Congress has now ended. At 0230 [0030 GMT] precisely, the Congress adopted a program resolution with 334 votes in favor, 34 against, and 15 abstentions. The union is aware of the social costs of system transformations, and will strive to minimize them. It will work against unemployment. The task of the union will be the joint creation of conditions facilitating a change of profession. Representatives of the union will negotiate the conditions of work dismissals. The union will not create a political party. The main burden of responsibility for changes in the economic system rests with parliament and the government. Current housing policy gives rise to opposition.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have read you only some sentences, some postulates from the Solidarity program. We don't yet have the whole program, no doubt because it was only adopted at 0230. I therefore refer interested parties to the Solidarity press, which is bound to print the program in full.

Congress Ends 25 Apr

LD2504072690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] The Solidarity second national congress ended its nearly seven-day deliberations a few minutes after 0800. In his final address, union chairman Lech Walesa emphasized that the most important task for Poland is currently the building of democracy. The final meeting, which lasted over 20 hours without a break, ended with the singing of the national anthem. Earlier, during the night, the Solidarnosc program and the organization's statute were adopted.

Activists View National Commission

LD2404210390 Warsaw PAP in English 1633 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Gdansk, April 24—The Second Congress of Solidarnosc elected authorities of the union. The following Solidarnosc activists commented [on] a composition of the new National Commission at the request of PAP journalist:

Zbigniew Bujak:

"At the present moment, Lech Walesa is one of the few great personalities of the union. That is why everybody who became a member of the National Commission would hold onto him. Without him they feel they will lose an important position on Poland's political scene. In this sense, the national Commission will be the Lech team and I say this also because the number of outstanding personalities decreased.

"So far, nothing has been known about new personalities, as they did not let themselves be known at the congress. There is still Janek Rulewski but he is part of the union's folklore. So far, he has enjoyed the role of outsider and jester."

Jan Rulewski:

"The composition of the National Commission confirmed the principle, and it seemed to me that it will be overcome at the congress, that this union still remained the Union of Walesa rather than the Union of Solidarnosc. This can be of enormous advantage when we take the stability of power and its continuation into account.

"However, one can also be afraid of the phenomenon of nomenclature becoming apparent already earlier. This is confirmed by the hitherto ineffectiveness of the union and the work of the National Executive Commission practically nonexistent."

Michal Boni:

"It seems to me that the composition of the National Commission includes many persons who can be deemed people of the union of the future. There are also many such people who did not manage to reveal their personality during the presentation. Thus, the National Commission will in half refer to old and traditional ways of the Solidarnosc work but it will include many persons thinking about a different formula of the union."

Solidarity Bank, Insurance Firm To Be Set Up

LD2304103490 Warsaw PAP in English 0901 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Gdansk, April 23: "Still this year a Solidarity insurance company will start activity and a Solidarity bank will be established at the beginning of next year," Jacek Merkel, chairman of the Solidarity Foundation's council and of the Solidarity Economic Fund's supervising council, said at a press conference here.

The bank and the foundation are good ventures to encourage the West to make business with Poland. One and a half months after the foundation had been registered, it helped Polish enterprises sign contracts worth $500 million.

Solidarity institutions which conduct economic activity should become new economic structures. The foundation's program also aims to curb unemployment through creating new jobs. By the end of the year agencies are expected to be set up with a view to promoting and servicing small enterprises in Gdansk, Cracow and Torun.

The foundation is the biggest and the only institution in Poland which helps one start contacts with foreign capital free of charge.

Solidarity Options, Prospects Analyzed

AU2304090190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Apr 90 p 1

[Jan Rogala commentary: "What Should 'Solidarity' Be Like?"]

[Text] It is not easy to assess the state of "Solidarity." This is because "Solidarity" is first and foremost a social movement and not just a trade union. The "Solidarity" citizens committees that were established before the June 1989 elections are the best proof of that.

Judging by the statistics, the present "Solidarity" trade union is much weaker than the union of 1980-81. That union had 10 million members then—the present union membership is one fourth of that. It is also weaker financially. The high membership dues find their way into the union's coffers with difficulty.

In 1980 everybody who was opposed to communism and communist rule joined "Solidarity." Today, people are involved in the work of the citizens committees, other "Solidarity" agencies, newly established political parties, associations, and social and youth organizations. People have naturally drifted from the union to other kinds of political work. They have also moved into government. The union's grassroots membership has contracted.

The "Solidarity" trade union has still not found its place in the increasingly complicated Polish economic landscape. With a weak economy, union demands have to be less strident. It is difficult to demand higher wages and call for changes in employees' conditions when the economy is inefficient and the state's coffers are empty. The high degree of activity in parliamentary work means that the union is not in a position to keep up with issuing its opinions on the legislation that is being created. Even if it were to know what it wants for itself, it lacks a parliamentary lobby that would back its efforts.

The union is also having trouble formulating its program and the congress theses are the best proof of that. It lacks centers for conducting research and analysis. In 1981 it had several, if not a couple of dozen, centers all over the

country, whereas today it has one, in the Mazowsze region, and it is barely functioning. The union publications that used to gather views and would themselves shape opinion no longer appear.

The union of 1990 is consciously dissipating its strength. Poland is governed by "Solidarity" people. By delegating people to government, the union has weakened itself in terms of personnel. In addition, it has split up into the citizens movement, the Citizens Parliamentary Club, the "Solidarity" Senate, and the private farmers have separated themselves out.

In the workplace the "Solidarity" union is continuing to demonstrate its strength. It serves everyone. It sees to union affairs and to affairs of a more general kind. It has ceased to be an exclusively political institution and has transformed itself into a trade union in the classic sense. Today it is the only important force in the workplace. It has a decisive say in all matters. Management already respects its authority.

So, how should one describe its prospects? It is clear that—especially in light of the changes in the way the economy is run—people very much need a trade union. Nevertheless, as the opinion polls show, "Solidarity's" popularity as a trade union is declining. People do not have a clear idea of what the union is seeking to achieve. So, there is a need to produce a program that sets things out in precise terms. An answer has to be found to the question of what the union is proposing.

The union is undergoing a renewal. Many former activists are working in government institutions and on citizens committees. New people are filling their places in the union. They are not young people, because the union's membership is growing older, but new people. They include people who still place union ambitions above all other ambitions. It is also an excellent opportunity for changing the character of the union's activities.

The question of what the union ("Solidarity") should do next is, at the same time, a question of how Polish democracy will evolve. Will it follow its own Polish path, or will it follow another path, one that has proven itself in Europe? The form that the movement took arose in 1980. If "Solidarity" is to deal solely with union matters, it means that a much smaller group of people will be involved. That is, of course, less attractive. This is why there is a growing interest in the work of citizens committees and other structures spawned by the union.

However, in the public mind, only "Solidarity" the trade union has an aura. It also has a certain mythical quality about it in society. A myth cannot be broken up into parts. It will remain attached to the union forever.

In talking about "Solidarity," it is difficult not to say something about the social movement. The trade union is the most important part of it. That is why its strength will depend on how it defines its tasks at the congress.

Walesa on Presidency, Need for Results

AU2004092590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Apr 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Jacek Moskwa on 11 April; place not given: "I Have Stirred Up A Hornet's Nest"]

[Text] [Moskwa] The news that Lech Walesa had intimated he would be a candidate for the presidency made front page news all over the world. This has given rise to questions about the stability of the present political agreement. Could I ask you about your "campaign plan"?

[Walesa] I have many friends who consider that this ought to happen. I did not make such a literal statement. I merely articulated a few condensed thoughts to a PAP journalist. After the shipyard meeting, a meeting that showed how dissatisfied people had become and how urgently they were demanding reforms, I simply stated the need for accelerating reforms in the context of speaking about the president. I did not intend to make it the first step in a race for the presidency. As it happened, my response was interpreted literally. I am very glad that there appears to be a public need for such a discussion.

It is not good when this is used to drive a wedge between me and my friends. I count Jaroslaw and Lech Kaczynski among my friends. They have picked up the threads of the discussion and this is a good thing. Let Poland discuss, even though it is about me.

[Moskwa] But these are not merely theoretical speculations....

[Walesa] The discussion has exposed two types of presidents. A section of our society would like to see somebody like [prewar president] Moscicki, an urbane professor, fluent in many languages, who also happened to be elevated to the presidency. In my opinion, however, such a president does not answer the needs of present-day Poland. We need someone who will build democracy and at the same time take care that it does not get lost. These are the qualities put forward by the pragmatists. It does not necessarily have to be me. I am not talking about Walesa, but about determination, because if we demand sacrifices from the pragmatists, the workers, and if we demand that these people shoulder the burden once again—this happened in the Gdansk shipyard meeting, where I mentioned the president—then at the same time we should not show ourselves to be ineffective. That is where the ineffectiveness is. The director who chased me out of the shipyard strike two years ago brandishing an iron rod is currently doing very well, and this was the strike that eventually gave us our premier and our government. By the way, he also chased out the present premier. Today, this director has a company which operates in the shipyard. He earns $13 an hour. There are people who fought by our side and who today only earn two cents an hour. What does this show? Simply, our ineffectiveness.

It is not that the government is bad. The government is doing its best. It is building democracy, but at the same time such follies slip through the net. The pragmatists see this is happening and that is why they stressed this by whistling down the deputies and senators during the shipyard meeting. They are saying: Enough of this talking, the cause is just, you speak very eloquently, but I have not gotten anything out of it.

I would like to combine both things; construct democracy in the steady way that Mazowiecki and his government are doing, and at the same time apply Mazowiecki's effectiveness in seeing that property is not plundered and the wise guys do not evade the law.

[Moskwa] You must realize that people are thinking of you as a possible next president. There is also the important question: What will happen to "Solidarity," the trade union that you created?

[Walesa] At this moment, if one looks at it from the angle of petty jealousies, it seems that I have just shot myself in the foot. There will be a great debate about the way Lech is treating the union as a springboard to the presidency. My answer is: It is better if the president comes from the working people, because his heart will be with "Solidarity." Second, we do not know when this election will be. Third, one can serve the Polish cause no matter where one comes from. It is not a question of my becoming president, but I will not abandon the fight for pluralism, democracy, and the 25 years that I sacrificed for these ideals. I will find a place for myself where I shall continue the struggle, initially from "Solidarity" and perhaps one day from the presidential office.

As chairman of "Solidarity" I want to see that "Solidarity" shakes itself free and stops being the prop of the government and the Citizens Parliamentary Club. I am not doing it maliciously. These are my institutions. I identify with them and I am with them. But let us not confuse issues. If we bring about another monopoly on the basis that we all stem from the same point, then we shall simply accomplish in a much shorter time what the communists managed to bring about. I do not intend to repeat that mistake. I will argue with my friends on behalf of pluralism and for the opportunity of having different, even left-wing, solutions.

[Moskwa] To sum up, your presidential candidacy is not a question for the coming week, or the foreseeable future. The aim of the immediate future is "Solidarity."

[Walesa] To make it a trade union. Up to now it has been what it has been. The situation demanded it. Nobody is casting doubt on the victory we scored under my leadership, but at the same time the pragmatists hold it against me that it has brought no results. In short they ask: Of what benefit has it been to us? In order to have results, there must be discussion of programs, and later this will produce effects. Perhaps it is taking too long. I would like to speed things up should the opportunity present itself.

[Moskwa] You spoke about the Mazowiecki government. On the one hand there is the faith you have in this person and, on the other, a certain reservation because of the, let us say, low offensive capacity of this cabinet. Would you agree with this description?

[Walesa] Not absolutely. This government spends whole nights in the Council of Ministers building, especially Tadeusz Mazowiecki. But the government does not seem to see that a revolution is taking place. This revolution requires that democracy be constructed and not hindered. At the same time it needs effective actions. In the past a revolution locked up all opponents and all those who wanted to profit from the chaos. Today, it should stop the plunder of Poland. We are taking too long to do anything about the cooperative monopolies and too long to break up the Workers Publishing Cooperative. Certain people will steal all the property before we finally resolve these issues.

I repeat, this is not the government's fault. The government does not have the required legal weapons, or any others. One should do certain things which do not damage democracy and at the same time do not allow such things to happen as in this shipyard. I am talking about the ineffectiveness of our efforts, their uncoordinated manner, and not about the possibility of Walesa becoming a dictator. I will say it openly. Should fate ever make me a president, then I would like to see Tadeusz Mazowiecki as premier. I would cooperate with him and spur him to react quickly. At the moment we have a situation in which the president does not hinder, but at the same time he does nothing to help. We are not making the most of our opportunities.

[Moskwa] In this context I have to ask a question about President Wojciech Jaruzelski. Your comments in the shipyard were interpreted as an attempt to force an immediate change.

[Walesa] It has given rise to an awkward situation, but we have freedom, pluralism, and it is not a bad thing that such debates can take place in order that Polish society can choose the best candidate. I stuck my neck out and I will be criticized. Obviously, we have to respect one another and we have to do certain things according to the law. I respect my Sejm and government. I merely say to this government that we need to quicken the pace because the present state of affairs cannot be maintained for much longer. Quite obviously the present state of affairs suits the premier, but it is not to Poland's advantage because we have such glaring inconsistencies as in the shipyard. Anyway, the shipyard is not an extreme example. There are many worse ones elsewhere. The results of the present game will decide the next hundred years. In relation to this, I do not oppose the general practices, but the bad ones, the lack of results in our solutions. Quite clearly, everything must be within the law. I do not want to break the law. But we have to improve our laws, for they cannot stand in the way of our reforms. The law has to reflect what has happened.

The fact that my comment on reform was interpreted as the first step in the presidential race means that it found a ready audience and that the whole world has been waiting for this to happen. I assume that it would be more convenient for the world if this were to happen. I am only thinking about reform.

I have stirred up a hornet's nest and it transpires that the world was waiting for this to happen.

[Moskwa] What is your opinion of President Jaruzelski's role?

[Walesa] He is in a difficult situation and he has a complicated life history. Is this an obstacle? As a man, I would not want to be in his shoes. But one has to realize that all that is happening is not what should really be happening. That is why I am arranging meetings with the workers, farmers, and other groups. At the moment Walesa's greatest enemy is Walesa. Why do I not sit quietly, do what I do, and wait for my turn? Why do I not do this? I cannot wait and look on when something is not functioning as it should be. One has to point these things out. My meetings play such a role. Through television they show what people really think; namely, take care, the direction is right, but the results are not coming through. Yet again the Poles have won a victory which has not brought any results. I want to get something for it, not for myself, but for society.

[Moskwa] What political events do you foresee in Poland in the near future?

[Walesa] I fear that the factory crews will turn the heat on us. I fear that we may not be given much time and that is the reason I am warning the government, a government that is proceeding in the right direction, that the people can see that Poland is being plundered, destroyed, and how much dishonesty there is. All these things are leveled at the government. We have to combine the right direction with results. That is all I said when I was talking about the presidency, but people thought those words were initiating the start of a presidential campaign, only because they want it.

Premier's Adviser Kuczinski Views Economy

PM2404144090 Paris LE FIGARO in French 20 Apr 90 supplement p X

[Interview with Waldemar Kuczinski, special adviser to the prime minister, by Pierre Rousselin; place and date not given]

[Text] [Rousselin] What is your assessment of the first three months of the Polish economic plan?

[Kuczinski] The result is not bad. We have gained control of inflation, stabilized the exchange rate, and, for the first time, we have achieved a surplus in our trade with the West. Credit and the money supply are undercontrol. But we are not sure that this is a lasting trend and the recession may grow worse.

[Rousselin] Could inflation resume?

[Kuczinski] We have controlled the hyperinflation which existed at the end of last year. But we cannot say that all sources of inflation have been eliminated. Inflation may resume because of the recession which is stronger than expected. Production has fallen by 30 percent. For the time being, the recessionist process has stabilized, but we cannot be certain that that will last. We are worried about the eventuality of an aggravation in this recession. This could pave the way for a resumption of hyperinflation.

Dampening Inflationary Expectations

[Rousselin] What can you do to prevent too great a recession without reviving inflation?

[Kuczinski] We must be very cautious and not increase internal demand and especially the population's income. There are pressures for wage increases but we think it is too soon and that we must wait for at least a few months to dampen inflationist expectations.

[Rousselin] Do you think that the Poles can wait and accept the reduction in their purchasing power for long?

[Kuczinski] The drop in purchasing power was very marked in January and February and less marked in March. Real incomes have fallen by 30 percent but there was a great deal of money lying unused. The drop in real living standards has therefore been less than the drop in wages. I hope that people will be patient. You can never be sure, but for the time being there is no sign of a perceptible increase in social tension. However, there is a degree of discontent, especially in the rural districts, but the social situation remains stable. Of course, unemployment, which is not yet very widespread, will increase.

Discovery of Market Laws

[Rousselin] Did the seriousness of the recession surprise you?

[Kuczinski] It is a surprise, but in fact it was to be expected. The bulk of the Polish economic potential still belongs to the state. These enterprises are not accustomed to reacting in market conditions, but to working under conditions in which they can dispose of all their production without any problem. For the first time, they must learn to seek out clients, to use publicity and marketing.

In addition, many enterprises are waiting, thinking that the government will backpedal and that everything will return to what it was previously. They are reducing their production and waiting for better times instead of adapting. But, as time passes, more and more enterprises are making the necessary efforts, are trying to cut their production costs and their prices and are seeking export outlets. The seriousness of the recession will depend on the duration of this reaction. If the enterprises manage to adapt, the recession will be curbed.

[Rousselin] What can the government do to facilitate this adaptation?

[Kuczinski] We want to help the Polish enterprises by opening the door to the outside world. We have lifted most of the restrictions on exports. We also want to limit some import restrictions to speed up the restructuring of the economy. On the other hand, we are extremely cautious about internal demand. We must maintain it at its present level for a while.

[Rousselin] What do you expect from the West in this connection?

[Kuczinski] We need foreign aid to speed up this restructuring process so that the economy can become competitive and change its production techniques. Those techniques were established without any market backing. There are many enterprises which have dynamic management but which cannot become profitable without changing their production techniques. This requires time and capital.

[Rousselin] What about the commercial sphere?

[Kuczinski] The EEC has so far made a major effort by suspending many import restrictions on Polish products. We want that to continue. We also want cooperation on promoting our products on the European market because that is our weak point.

[Rousselin] What about the rescheduling of the debt?

[Kuczinski] That is a very difficult problem. As regards the private debt, Poland fulfills all the conditions of the Brady Plan. It is now a matter for negotiation. We must see what option to choose. The question of the public debt is more serious, because there is no precedent concerning the countries with an intermediate level of income. We cite the example of the FRG which was released from its debt toward governments in the early fifties. We do not say that the same mechanism should be applied to Poland, but the efforts we have made are unprecedented. Nobody has yet tried to move from a completely planned economy to a market economy. Of all the Central European countries, Poland is the country which has made most progress toward that. We will create a free market of 40 million people.

[Rousselin] How soon?

[Kuczinski] It will not happen very quickly. Perhaps 10 years. In any case, it will take years.

[Rousselin] The government has just put forward its bill on privatization....

[Kuczinski] It has just been presented to the Sejm. There is a controversy between the socialist or social democratic currents and the liberal current. I do not know in what way parliament will change the bill. We want to start this privatization process which will also last a long time.

[Rousselin] How many privatizations do you plan this year?

[Kuczinski] I cannot give you a figure. More like 10 than 100 in any case.

Gradual Privatization

[Rousselin] What enterprises will be privatized first?

[Kuczinski] We want to start by privatizing enterprises which are working well. We are offering the workers some opportunities to buy shares on preferential terms. We are not against shareholding by the people but we do not want to establish it artificially. We want market conditions to develop themselves. We also want to facilitate the purchase of shares by foreigners. In short, we want to speed up this process and we are aware of lagging behind.

[Rousselin] A stock exchange is necessary for privatization.

[Kuczinski] Yes. We are working on the legal framework necessary for the creation of a money market. There are already private offices which are selling stock. At the beginning of next year, I think that we will have the start of a stock exchange.

[Rousselin] Will privatization enable some members of the communist nomenklatura to grow rich?

[Kuczinski] Yes, the problem exists. There are nomenklatura companies. We are trying to eliminate those which were created illegally. There are several dozen cases. But there are nomenklatura companies which are working well and which were formed legally. There is no reason to destroy them.

[Rousselin] Many people say that the reforms must be speeded up. What do you think of that?

[Kuczinski] The current model was drawn up during the roundtable. At the time, provision was made for several years but this has become impossible. There is no doubt that the change must be speeded up and that it is necessary to clarify the political situation. This means that we must organize parliamentary elections to verify the support which the different Polish parties have. We think that it would be very unfavorable to hold three elections in seven months. The first are the municipal elections, and they will take place on 27 May; that will leave almost seven months to the end of the year. From a practical viewpoint, even an entirely stable country cannot avoid a degree of paralysis in government if there are three elections in such a short time. We cannot afford such a destabilization.

There is a section of the political class which wants to speed up this change as much as possible. We think that this would be very harmful for the country. We are at a very delicate stage of a very difficult economic program. Any political destabilization could create a problem; the prime minister said that the parliamentary elections

could take place in the spring of next year and that the process could end on 3 May 1991—the bicentennial of the Constitution.

[Rousselin] Which groupings are in favor of speeding things up?

[Kuczinski] I was thinking primarily of several small political parties. They want to speed things up in the hope that they will have a bigger slice of the pie. There is also a faction within Solidarity. It is a faction which leans slightly to the right. Finally, there are some factions which come from Walesa's entourage.

[Rousselin] What do you think of Walesa's intention of running for president?

[Kuczinski] Walesa is a leading political figure in Poland. He is certainly a potential presidential candidate but it is up to the voters to decide.

[Rousselin] The prime minister is also a potential presidential candidate....

[Kuczinski] I have never heard it said that he wants to enter that race. He has never said that.

[Rousselin] Does the speeding up of German reunification have negative consequences for Poland?

[Kuczinski] This can create problems for us because the GDR has to date been one of our most important commercial partners. We are afraid that reunification will deprive us of part of the market in East Germany which will turn to the West.

Five Hundred German Joint Ventures

[Rousselin] Is that why it is necessary to strengthen cooperation with Czechoslovakia and Hungary?

[Kuzcinski] There are real obstacles because our economic structures are not complementary but supplementary. All these countries have developed in the same way, which was imposed by the USSR. We want economic cooperation but these ideas of a political confederation are rather illusory in my view.

[Rousselin] It is said that the Germans are investing in Silesia and Pomerania. Are they trying to "buy back" former German territories?

[Kuzcinski] There are 500 German joint ventures and they are spread throughout the country. We do not see any special concentration in the Western part of Poland. There are people in Poland who say that Germany will colonize us but there is no danger for the time being. We hope that there will be an influx of German investment. In any event, the Polish Government will keep some control over that.

[Rousselin] Is France not rather timid in its investments in Poland?

[Kuczinski] France was Poland's second most important Western partner in the seventies and it is now seventh. There are 500 German joint ventures, and 50 French. Some big French groups like Alcatel have been present in Poland for a long time but most are taking their first steps. There is a lag to be made up....

Gdansk Transport Workers Begin Strike

LD1904165390 Warsaw PAP in English
1344 GMT 19 Apr 90

[Text] Gdansk, April 19—Municipal transport workers went on strike in Gdansk after yesterday's two and a half hours' warning strike and the fiasco of negotiations over pay rises. Today municipal trams and buses stayed in depots.

The workers demanded that their pay go up to 4,000 zlotys per hour.

Trade Unions Hold Protest at Finance Ministry

LD2404012590 Warsaw PAP in English
1907 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 23—A picket organized by the Federation of the Unions of Employees of the Municipal and Local Economy in Poland started in front of the Finance Ministry building here today.

We demand primarily a systemic solution to problems occurring in our activity and the financing of public utility enterprises as well as an increase in subsidies from the state budget, Secretary of the Federation Jerzy Sankowski taking part in the protest said.

Everybody unanimously comes out against high rises in rents. They will not improve the financing of enterprises but can lead to an extreme situation in which people will not pay rents for flats.

Finance Vice-Minister Ryszard Pazura had talks with representatives of the protesting employees. He proposed a meeting at the Building Ministry on May 4 to be attended by employees of the Finance Ministry and representatives of the building and the labour and social welfare policy ministries. The picket ended after these reports.

Opinion Poll on Factory Workers' Mood

AU2304092590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 18 Apr 90 p 2

[Iwona Czechowicz report: "Public Opinion Research Center—The Workers About Their Factories"]

[Text] If one were to evaluate enterprise performance solely on the basis of information received through the media, the picture we would get would consist of dark colors with black predominating. It is obvious that we are in a recession. Production has fallen, factories have been stunned by market forces, and unemployment is increasing. We must not dismiss these problems lightly.

That is why the Public Opinion Research Center decided to conduct an opinion poll among workers of state enterprises in order to get the inside view.

What is the workers' opinion of the situation in their factory? The answers varied, but the prevailing opinion was that things had deteriorated. Some 55 percent of the workers thought so, 25 percent saw no change either way, and 15 percent considered there had been an improvement. The poll was conducted in March. Almost 25 percent of those polled anticipated an improvement, 33 percent foresaw a deterioration, and almost 50 percent thought there would be no change in the near future, but difficulties might arise. The perceived changes in factory performance—for the better, as well as for the worse—were most frequently attributed to the introduction of a new economic system, especially the latter. Only isolated responses blamed factory crews or factory management for deterioration in performance. Where the situation was perceived as having improved (compared to December 1989), the role played by the management was more frequently seen as the prime causative factor.

The workers of state enterprises and institutions were generally convinced that economic processes paving the way for economic rationalization were already well under way in their enterprises. Almost 50 percent perceived an improvement in the management of supplies, raw materials, and energy. Some 33 percent saw changes in their work organization, and 40 percent perceived an increase in work motivation. Nevertheless, some 33 percent saw the situation as unchanged and over 50 percent did not perceive any increase in work motivation. Here, figures from February and March were used to make the comparison. The wide variation in the opinions received are sufficiently significant to permit one to speculate that the economic situation demands some sort of action.

Over 50 percent of those polled noticed a fall in production, 16 percent noted an increase, and 21 percent thought that there had been no change. Given this situation, did the crews think that the financial situation of the enterprise was hopeless, or at the least very difficult? Some 53 percent thought that it had deteriorated (in February the figure was 44 percent), 19 percent thought it had improved, and 17 percent saw no change. Some 46 percent saw a strong correlation between the level of wages and the financial performance of the enterprise. Almost 33 percent considered that the financial situation had little effect on salary levels and over 25 percent did not see any connection between the financial situation of the enterprise and salaries. An almost equal number of those polled stated that the two trade unions, "Solidarity" and the National Trade Union Confederation, had shown very little or no concern for salary levels, or for job security. The two opinions amount to over 70 percent of the responses received.

The poll also asked questions about the relationship to bad workers. Over 20 percent polled thought that such workers would be dismissed, some 15 percent thought that they were being transferred to other posts, and 16.5 percent stated that such workers were tolerated. The remainder of those polled considered that quality of work was not in issue and this meant that bad workers were not a problem.

At the end of the survey report the Public Opinion Research Center concludes that "positive opinions are found only where there exists an opportunity to satisfy personal needs." It is through this prism that all aspects of enterprise performance are seen. Those who think the Balcerowicz program will succeed also see the developments taking place in their factory in an optimistic light.

Demonstration Against Nuclear Power Plant

LD2404010190 Warsaw PAP in English 1911 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Gdansk, April 23—We demand that a referendum be held on the construction of the nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec, demonstrators shouted in front of Olivia Sports Arena which is the venue of the 2nd national congress of Solidarnosc.

The protest was organized by the Ecological Forum of the tri-city (Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot). The forum wants the referendum to be held as soon as possible as the frozen construction on the plant drains money which could otherwise be used to develop other sources of energy.

PNUC Discusses Demonstrations, Passes Bills

AU2404154590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1520 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/4/1990—After more than one hour of heated debates on the demonstration in the University Square, those present analysed the proposal to empower the order-keeping bodies to intervene and disperse that unauthorized demonstration which contributes to destabilizing the situation all over the country. Mr. Ion Iliescu draw the attention that that kind of demonstrations pursued precisely the creation of a climate improper for holding authentically free elections in Romania.

Contested on the one side and approved on the other the proposal was not adopted, a compromise being resorted to, the sending of a delegation made up of representatives of political groups led by Mr. Serghei Mezaros, member of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] Executive Bureau, to dialogue, if possible, with the demonstrators and inform the parliament.

Mr. Diamandescu, deputy minister of the interior, was requested to inform about the events in the University Square.

Those present passed on to debating the normative acts included in the session's agenda. After heated debates on the demonstration in the University Square and while the PNUC delegation were on the spot to talk to the demonstrators, the bills on the agenda continued to be examined in the hall on the Mitropoliei Hill.

Approved with a majority of votes, the decree-law on the interest paid to the population by the savings and deposits bank (C.E.C.) for depositing money savings and by banks for depositing social shares stipulates a five-per cent increase of the interest for deposits made for at least one year and for deposits of school-children, and a 2-3 increase for other types of deposits.

Another decree-law passed today stipulates the setting up of the "liberty fund," a foundation of public utility, with a legal character, which is to administer and ensure the utilization of the funds deposited with the banks as reliefs after the December 1989 revolution.

Also approved were the decree-law regulating rights of the air traffic controllers, as well as the decree-law officially recognizing the Romanian Greek Catholic Church (Uniate) in Romania which is to organize itself and operate in conformity with the general legal regime of religious denominations.

The decree-law on the Greek Catholic denomination, drafted to the latest detail by the hierachs of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches of Romania, caused to lengthy debates during today's session of the Provisional National Unity Council.

But in the end the will of the Greek Catholic Church triumphed and the decree was adopted with two amendments. According to one of them this church is to be officially called the Romanian Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church.

Session Ends; Iliescu on Protests

AU2404190890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1714 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/4/1990—The Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] adopted, with a majority of votes, the other decrees-laws on the session's agenda except that on the solving of conflicts of working collectivities and the exercise of the right to strike, which is to be submitted to general debates in the press first.

Among the new normative acts passed worth mentioning are those regarding the ensurance of the legal framework for the restoration of the autonomous statute of the Architects' Union of Romania; the increase of the lawyers' pensions; Romania's joining the "Intelsat"; the statute of the foreign observers to the 20 May 1990 elections.

The session continues with debates on the events taking place in the University Square.

After discussing the normative acts included in the agenda, the PNUC commission members who had a dialogue with the demonstrators in University Square were listened to. They showed the demonstrators were requesting the amendment of the election law by the introduction of the Proclamation of Timisoara in article eight, the resignation of Ion Iliescu and of the minister of the interior and total autonomy of the television station. No one of the parliamentarians could specify whom they represented and on whose behalf they were speaking. Several manifestos were brought to the session, one of them belonging to the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party.

General Diamandescu, deputy minister of the interior, specified that the order-keeping bodies did not interfere and did not use force against the demonstrators. But it was the latter that used force against the order-keeping bodies, three of the students of the Police Officer School being wounded by them.

The Ministry of the Interior was requested to show much more firmness in ensuring quiet and public order in the capital as in no country with democratic traditions such meetings or unauthorized demonstrations which hinder a smooth run of activities would be tolerated.

The Provisional Council was requested to adopt a joint declaration which should disavow such shows of force that destabilize an already unstable situation prior to the 20 May elections.

Maintaining such ideas, Mr. Ion Iliescu showed that the Council members, as people in charge of political affairs,

should not approve of such phenomena that have nothing in common with democracy, freedom and human dignity.

The PNUC works will be resumed in a fortnight.

Demonstrations Continue at University Square

AU2404190790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] At this time, a large crowd of demonstrators are gathered in the Bucharest University Square. They represent the Independent Group for Democracy, the People's Alliance, the 21 December Association, the 16-21 December Association, and the League for Human Rights and Regaining Freedom. An hour ago, groups of students arrived in front of the National Theater, the International Hotel, and the University; their representatives are already on the balcony of the University building. The demonstrators are chanting anticommunist slogans against the National Salvation Front and its leader.

Pamphlets from various groupings were distributed in the square. The speakers are addressing the crowd through microphones installed on the University balconies. The speakers who addressed the crowd this afternoon from the steps in front of the National Theater building are also present in the square.

In the afternoon, a Provisional National Unity Council delegation had a dialogue with the demonstrators.

The forces of order which were deployed in the square this morning have been withdrawn. Only traffic wardens are present in the area. Traffic is interrupted on the boulevard since the demonstrators are occupying part of the large boulevard.

10,000 Protestors Gather

AU2504121690 Paris AFP in English 1122 GMT 25 Apr 90

[By Jacques Boyer]

[Text] Bucharest, April 25 (AFP)—About 10,000 demonstrators pursued protests against ex-communists who are still running the government for a fourth straight day Wednesday causing huge traffic jams in the Romanian capital.

The authorities, who failed Tuesday to remove the demonstrators by force, had decided to let the demonstrations go ahead.

Vice-president of the National Salvation Front, N.S. Dumitru, told journalists the government did not want to be accused of "stifling youth and democracy." The authorities would react calmly, he said.

Demonstrators, including anti-communists who took part in the December uprising which overthrew the Ceausescu dictatorship, are calling for the resignation of interim president Ion Iliescu. They have pledged to continue their protests until he and the government resign.

Mr. Iliescu, who is a front-runner for president in the May 20 elections, says he cast off communism to take the leadership of the revolt which ended with the execution of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu on December 25.

The interim president, whose position is being increasingly undermined by the determined anti-communist opposition, has branded the protestors "hooligans" and accused them of seeking to sabotage the country's first free elections since 1946.

Mr. Dumitru said they were being "manipulated according to modern techniques" in the election campaign, but played down the hooligan slur as an emotional outburst, saying many were youngsters with legitimate aspirations.

Three hundred people had braved the wind and rain and stayed out all night in protest on University Square, where numerous victims of the December revolution were gunned down.

As their numbers swelled again in the morning and patriotic songs rang out, Balcescu Boulevard, one of Bucharest's main thoroughfares, was gradually blocked off and traffic across the city centre snarled up.

Hundreds of baton-wielding police dispersed the demonstrators early Tuesday, but they regrouped later in the day. The security forces later withdrew and had not returned Wednesday.

The independent daily ROMANIA LIBERA on Wednesday quoted a dozen people saying they had been beaten with batons by riot police. The Interior Ministry denied batons had been used on demonstrators.

The newspaper said the trouble, the first such violence since December, recalled "the good old days of the militia", a powerful arm of the hated ancien regime.

Protesters' Demands Noted

AU2504135690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] By noon today, approximately 500-600 citizens had gathered in University Square, standing in groups in the area by the Intercontinental Hotel, National Theater, and Bucharest University, ROMPRES reports.

Speaking on behalf of those present, Mr. Octavian Radulescu said that no one would leave the square unless the four demands made by the demonstrators were met: the abrogation of the law on the status of the Romanian Radio-Television issued during the dictatorship; the addition to the election law of Article 8 of the Timisoara Proclamation; the abrogation of the law restricting the freedom of the press; and the postponement of the elections to the second half of the year, so that the

citizens may become better acquainted with the candidates who have been nominated. It was also announced that a list of names of those who were wounded during the demonstration has been sent to the parliament.

In the aforementioned interval, ROMPRES emphasizes, one could see only two placards in University Square with the inscription, People's Alliance and 21 December Association.

* Timisoara Speech of 'Comrade' Iliescu Scored

90BA0045C Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 3 Apr 90 p 4

[B. Mihai article: "A Sad Anniversary"]

[Text] How quickly time flies. It seems like only yesterday they were in front of the Cathedral in Timisoara, at "Inter," in the University and Romana Squares, and in front of the former headquarters of the detested party in Bucharest's Revolution Square. Automatic weapon fire, tank tracks, and shouts of pain no longer resound there. That was all 100 days ago. God, what beautiful thoughts we then had about the future, what dreams. Vain hopes. Those places are now marked by roadside crosses. We also have a Heroes' Cemetery, a cemetery for those who gave their lives for us to become free and just and to enjoy democracy. And how young they were. They fought bare breasted, and the girls carried flowers.

Was their sacrifice in vain? Today, with tears in our eyes, teeth clenched, and fists gathered we raise our eyes to heaven and say: YES.

Is it perhaps that this nation, oppressed for 45 years, deprived of everything by a cursed doctrine, who paid its dues in blood in the streets, and who banished its fear, must once again clearly have its say and impose its will?

Why was it necessary, at this anniversary-commemoration, to have such a speech by the most notorious Communist at the head of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC]? He went on for 20 minutes. Attempting a review of his own leadership's "achievements," he began by presenting the Front's program, first heard in the evening of 22 December 1989. All of us, the entire people, remember that on that day it was said that communism had been for ever banished from Romania. Did you hear that mentioned on Saturday evening in Mr. Iliescu's speech? Did he say anything to condemn that plague? Did he pronounce its name? For Comrade Iliescu, communism was, is, and will be sacred. What else, since he comes from an old family of activists. Like Comrade Roman, in fact.

Those revolutionary "heroes" now brag about their "great" achievements whenever and wherever they can, conditions permitting. Just like their predecessor. Both they and the scholarly shoemaker refer only to the "facade." They rescinded decrees and issued decrees, took measures, improved, did this, that, and the other... Time has been too short for other major problems, they encountered difficulties from the outside or the inside. True, there have been mistakes, too...

Recently, somebody was stammering on about the "happy" life in our country. Nothing new. He, too, was announcing a "golden" future, and to blame for any failings were hooligans, good-for-nothings, and the nefarious influences of capitalism.

However, the comrade PNUC chairman totally forgot to thank the countries that gave us moral and especially material support in the belief that Romania will be restored to the ranks of truly democratic countries. He forgot to thank the young and less young members of other parties for the Victory of the Revolution. Does the comrade perhaps think that the hundreds of thousands of people of Timisoara, Bucharest, Sibiu, Pitesti, Cluj, Arad, Buzau, etc. were or have all become members of the National Salvation Front [NSF]? Are they perhaps trying to appropriate the Revolution?

But he and the other comrades in the front leadership have appropriated the power and are fiercely holding on to it; through their acolytes they circulate rumors and calumnies, attack headquarters, and preempt—in a "parliament" with an imposed Front majority—the adoption of truly democratic laws or the elimination of the ambiguities consciously slipped into laws for premeditated purposes. Everything under the cloak of an "original democracy."

Comrade Iliescu didn't breathe a word about the mascarade of the trials of the killers of the Revolution Heroes, about the demonstrations staged every Sunday—all of them against communism, the NSF, the securitate, and totalitarianism.

"Out of modesty" he didn't say a word about unrest in the Army or the pro forma removal of General Militaru.

He "omitted" to talk about the long lines in front of food stores (alas, the party management supplying the leadership has been reinstated) or the economic failures caused by stubborn maintenance of the old structures. How could he have, when he himself, five to six full ministers, many deputy ministers, ambassadors, generals, and directors or directors general, etc., belonged to the old nomenklatura. They continue to lead in the manner they learned, the way they knew how, the way they are requested to.

What have we had, 100 days since the victory of the Revolution, or 100 days since the NSF took over the power? Whatever the case, the outcome is sad. We are slowly, slowly returning to the point of departure. Lies are once again becoming law and causing the sacred ideals of the revolution to be pushed aside, omitted, and forgotten.

The film of the visit of the "high-ranking, beloved leaders" on that anniversary day, aired on Romanian Television, which is not free, ended with the image of hand-shaking, while groups of people were chanting

(could it have been Iliescu, Iliescu... Roman, Roman...?) A sad, old image. Just like that of our 100 nights under neo-communism.

Voican on Parts of Ceausescu Trial Shown on TV

AU2404120690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1139 GMT 24 Apr 90

["The Picture of the Revolution: Details From Gelu Voican Voiculescu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/4/1990—The French press insisted these days on the absence of certain segments from the videocassette with the Ceausescus' trial presented by the Free Romanian Television on April 23 night. Asked by a ROMPRES reporter to comment on it, Gelu Voican Voiculescu, deputy prime minister of Romania stated:

"Yes, some segments of the film with the Ceausescus' trial which was shown abroad, were skipped when shown on Sunday on the Romanian TV. Some moments that were not part of the legal framework of the trial or that would have helped tracing the place of burial of the two, were skipped. In fact they were unimportant for the case, for the Romanian televiewers. As to the moment of the execution, which is not shown in either variant, it was missed altogether by the camera, as the soldiers fired spontaneously, without order, while the firing squad commander was still in the building.

Hungarian TV on Film of Ceausescus' Execution

LD2404221390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] I asked Alajos Chrudinak how Hungarian Television obtained a video film on the execution of the Romanian dictator?

[Begin recording] [Announcer] The president of Bucharest Television said they intended to launch legal proceedings against the distributors of the pirate edition of the television-film on the sentencing and execution of the Ceausescu couple. According to this, is the notion, which you too stated in today's PESTI HIRLAP, conceivable, that these recordings were simply stolen out of Bucharest?

[Chrudinak] If this is what the president of Bucharest TV says, it probably is true. What I can say regarding this is that when I learned that French TV, Tele-France 1, on Sunday evening carried the one and a half hour report on this rather dramatic and fantastic trial against Ceausescu, on the execution and the burial, I made contact with Tele-France 1 on Monday morning [23 April] and they said they were willing to sell us the film for 80,000 French Francs. I said I believed the recording rights belonged to Bucharest; could they certify that they had purchased the rights? I have now received their telefax, in which they tell me that yes, they purchased the rights from Romania, or from Romanian Television, at least this is what they say.

Afterward I telephoned Bucharest Television, and asked them how much money they would sell us the program for. To this, they said they had planned to sell it worldwide for some 2.5 million dollars, but when they saw that the French had broadcast it, they decided to hand it over free of charge, and sometime—over the weekend or during the middle of the week—they would broadcast it, and anyone who wished to do so could get it. I said we needed it immediately. Thus, I managed to persuade them to play back for us the 86-minute program on the line from Bucharest, at four o'clock yesterday afternoon. This was what Bucharest Television had similarly broadcast, on Sunday. I believe they began it a few minutes later than in Paris.

[Announcer] This is still an abridged version, however.

[Chrudinak] Approximately four minutes were cut out: When the hands of Ceausescu and his wife are tied and there is a scuffle with the soldiers, and then they are led to the place of execution. I, however, called up Tele-France 1 to tell them I would like to purchase only this four-minute segment; was there any rate for this? To this they replied yes, they would sell it for 6,400 French francs. We arranged this on telex.

We should like to broadcast the entire program tomorrow, Wednesday [25 April], in the special edition of Panorama, at 2140 [1940 GMT], supplementing it with this four-minute scene. [end recording]

Court Hears Appeal of Genocide Accomplices

AU2304192490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1748 GMT 23 Apr 90

["Appeal in the Bucharest Trial"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1990—The Supreme Court of Justice—the Military Section—resumed proceedings on Monday, April 23, on the appeals lodged by Tudor Postelnicu, Emil Bobu, Ion Dinca and Manea Manescu whom the Bucharest Territorial Tribunal sentenced to life imprisonment for co-authorship of genocide on February 2.

Tudor Postelnicu's defence counsel said client's deeds did not make a genocide offence and requested that he be charged with moral complicity to aggravated murder. In his turn, Emil Bobu's defence counsel pleaded for a change in the charge against his client from co-authorship of to complicity to genocide, to make a difference between the charges brought against dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and those who agreed to apply the steps of bloody reprimand of the demonstrators participating in the December 1989 revolution, which had been set by his wife and he. As for the defendant Ion Dinca, his guilt was shown not to have been backed by the evidence and consequently the Supreme Court of Justice was requested to retry his case. An acquittal was requested in the case of Manea Manescu as he did not commit the offence he had been charged with.

The prosecutor considered the appeal reasons as groundless and requested that they should be rejected, with the original sentences being maintained as both well-grounded and legal.

In their final addresses, the defendants repeated some of their defence counsels' requests and expressed their hope that the court would pass a verdict along that line.

The court adjourned until May 5.

Roman on Elections, Communist Party

AU2404082690 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 22 Apr 90 pp 23-24

[Siegmar Schelling report: "Should We Have Fired 4 Million Communist Party Members From Their Posts?"]

[Text] Bucharest—Room 222 on the second floor of the Intercontinental Hotel in Bucharest. Three students are sitting at the table of Christian Unteanu, spokesman of the current Romanian Government. Isabelle Brone, Michel Grenier, and Marc Sjoestedt, are enrolled at the French university in Toulouse. They have come from France to visit a fellow student who studied at the university in the French provincial capital at the end of the 1960's. His name: Petre Roman, professor and current prime minister of Romania, a country with 23 million inhabitants.

He had 10 minutes for the young people from Toulouse. He had time for them as he does for almost everything that he is burdened with today in a state which seems to have been almost completely ruined by long communist dictatorship. Is communism finished in his country? Yes, completely finished. Three times Petre Roman says "finished" in English, and every time the sibilant becomes harsher.

This communism in his country was a bolshevik and Stalinist system, he says. Nowhere did this system succeed, not economically, not socially, and, in particular, not morally. And nothing is left from the great goal of communism—equal relations between people—which was the original goal.

He is an anti-Stalinist, but is the 46-year-old Romanian prime minister not perhaps trying a third path of socialism in order to save as much as possible of the old ideas? "Why?" he asks. At the beginning of the 1930's his father worked as a journalist for Romanian emigrant newspapers in France and had a clear idea of what democracy meant: "This he conveyed to me." For him a model of democracy with Romanian particularities is the only path on which his country can achieve a role in the civilized world.

Elections have been scheduled for 20 May in Romania. More than 60 groups are currently trying to get a place on the election list. What will remain of them, and are the Romanians really mature enough for the really first attempt at democracy in their history? Yes, Petre Roman thinks; people who have survived a revolution such as the one last Christmas will also learn democracy.

Asked whether his party the "National Salvation Front," which was formed immediately after Ceausescu's overthrow during the last days of the past year, controls the media, he can "only laugh." He points to his party's grassroots congress of 8 April. At it there was a peaceful rally on a beautiful day, and "flowers everywhere." A total of 40,000 people gathered. On this day other political groups held a rally in another part of the capital, a rally which had been incited very strongly by speeches. Both events had been reported on television for three minutes each, the news conference of the "National Salvation Front" was not reported at all. Roman does not deny that there are demonstrations against his way of managing his office: "Many who participate in these demonstrations are honorable people, who do not yet understand what we are doing. They believe we are manipulating. They believe we are not yet on the path toward democracy, that we are sticking to the old communist ideas. This is normal, necessary, and also part of democratization."

And the intellectuals, the poets, the students who reproach him and say that his government does not act forcefully enough against the old communist leadership cadres and against the Securitate, Ceausescu's both feared and hated security police? "What do you want? The 30 to 40 top people of the party have been indicted. The same goes for the leading members of the Securitate. A total of 4,000 members of this secret police, who did not necessarily fill leading posts, were 'fired.' They are people about whom we have been able to prove precisely that they committed crimes against the people. What do you want? Should we have fired all approximately 4 million members of the formerly Communist Party from their offices and should we have indicted them? Many of these fellow-citizens were members of the party, but not convinced communists."

Many opponents of the current regime consider the 20 May election date to be too early. The date favors the government, they say. Roman sees this quite differently. He would have preferred to vote even earlier, because "our legitimacy is limited." Elections could not have come early enough, and: "Since the revolution we have borne all responsibility alone, every minute, every day. All problems were in our hands. We had to make decisions. The others had time to take care of the organization of their parties. We need legitimation. We will get it by fair and free elections, regardless of who wins."

The Romanian Communist Party no longer exists. Would it not be easier for Roman if there were still professed Communists to run for the elections? — Perhaps, yes, the prime minister answers, perhaps this would really be easier for a clean political statement. The problem is only that after the revolution against communism and against its monster Ceausescu hardly one Communist dares raise his head in this country.

Where does he put the party which he represents? "Moderately socialist." —Like today's German Social Democratic Party of Germany?—"Perhaps even a bit to the right of it." —Helmut Schmidt as a model?—"Yes," Roman says.—Not necessarily Oskar Lafontaine?—"You have hit the point."

What will happen to the country's economy, which has been ruined by years of communist mismanagement? This is an easy path for a proven technocrat like Petre Roman. He needs three fingers of the left hand to enumerate the opportunities for his country: agriculture, tourism, and light industry (in particular the textile industry). Only 20 percent of the land belongs to the state. 3 million hectares are irrigated. One can start rebuilding today. The infrastructure of tourism exists, investors are received with open arms, and, in addition, they may earn good money within a short period of time. Skilled workers in the textile industry are available in masses. What opportunities would they have if they were equipped with modern technology: "We will need two to three years to introduce free market economy, four to five years for modernizing our economy. After six to eight years we would have achieved approximately West European standards." And: His country once was the bread basket of the Balkans, if one believes the history books. "Is this not enough to build a future on?"

There is a shortage of managers. One will have to have them trained in particular in Western countries. However, it is even more important to give the fellow-citizens the feeling that they no longer work for the state but for themselves. Therefore, further steps toward the privatization of large economic areas must be taken very quickly, for instance also toward founding stock corporations.

Roman relies on the FRG in this respect, which has "already helped" Romania "very much" on its path to a new future. With an emergency aid of 50 million Deutsche marks [DM] in the energy sector, the Bundestag acted with determination and without fuss. "Please write this: We will not forget this direct and helpful action by the Germans at a particularly difficult moment for us."

At the beginning of April Werner Niefer, deputy director of the board of governors of Daimler Benz, was in the country to look around. Roman says that the man from Stuttgart is "very nice and active." He is glad that he met him. Possibilities for cooperation were sounded out not only concerning the construction of automobiles. AEG, Aerospace, and other concerns are linked with Daimler. In addition to many other European companies, Romania is looking for cooperation with companies from Siemens to Philips. "We think we can do this, for mutual benefit." And then he remembers the tangible example of the Rhine-Westfalian Electricity Works (RWE). There is a specific project to gradually achieve a drastic increase in the energy production of the two largest Romanian thermal power plants. After they had looked at the power plants' equipment, the Germans said: "This is not so complicated. We will do this." The costs: DM300 million. Roman is optimistic that he will find people to finance this "eminently important project." At this moment one feels why he became his country's prime minister: What is needed is the energy and the optimism of the technocrat.

Concerning the bloody conflict between the Hungarian minority and the Romanians, Roman says: "During the first days after the revolution we were, perhaps, a bit too romantic. Everyone had participated in Ceausescu's overthrow. Everyone was happy. And then, suddenly, violence broke out. Like in Tirgu Mures between Hungarians and Romanians. I did not understand this, really I did not. I was shocked. I cannot deny that a certain nationalism raised its head there, fanned, in particular, by extremists on both sides."

What will happen in the future? He hopes that the Hungarian minority will not continue to demand "all rights immediately," more rights, more privileges than the Romanians themselves have achieved to far.

Under Ceausescu's dictatorship, more than half a million Transylvanian Saxons and Banat Swabians came to the FRG. An exodus. What will happen to the rest of 250,000 Germans, who live as a minority in Romania today?

The young head of government becomes very serious at this question: "I hope that they will stay. The German minority in Romania was and is very important because it played and still plays a balancing role in Romanian society. I call out to all those who are still here and to those who left: "Your home is here. Stay, or come back."

Concerning his future after the elections on 20 May, Petre Roman says: "This depends on the results." Will he face the challenge if his party, the "National Salvation Front," wins? And how will he do his job? He will face the challenge, and he will do his job as "I do it now." And if things turn out differently—after all, he still is a professor. It is not the silliest idea to visit some students at his "home university" of Toulouse.

Electoral Campaign: 82 Parties Registered

AU2404195290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1741 GMT 24 Apr 90

["Political Life: A Polychrome Political Landscape"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/4/1990—Till yesterday, 82 political parties were registered by the Bucharest Municipal Court. The last two political groupings registered are the Conservative Humanist Party based in Drobeta-Turnu Severin Municipality and the Romanian Revolution Party headquartered in Bucharest.

The large number of parties set up in the four months after the revolution can surprise any less informed observer. In fact such a polychromy reflects an inherent state of mind after 45 years of one-party ruling, of compulsory unique ideology.

Undoubtedly, the current tendency of political disunity will diminish after the 20 May elections. Even now one can see that several parties have merged into electoral alliances which can be the beginning of stronger parties' formation. Another possibility is the joining of some parties to already consecrated ones that have a greater number of supporters and adequate material means. Suggestive is also the fact that only three political groupings the National Salvation Front, the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party and the Liberal National Party succeeded in presenting candidates for Romania's presidency.

As for the platforms the 82 parties forwarded, they differ in function of the respective parties' political colour, yet containing common elements like the need to pass on to a market economy and the observance of the foremost human rights and liberties.

Therefore the multi-party system is gaining ground in Romania. We shall see what the fate of small parties which lack a solid base is to be after the 20 May elections.

Republican Party of Unity President Replaced

AU2504092490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0811 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 25/4/1990—Mihai Florin Nahoniarc was dismissed from the office of chairman of the Republican Party of Romanians' Unity in full election campaign, being accused of dictatorial behaviour, of breaking party discipline, imposing the right to veto in spite of the fact that the party's statute does not have any provision to that effect, and having gravely insulted representatives of state bodies in the name of the party.

Gheorghe Catalin Stan was elected to the office, announces daily TINERETUL LIBER, quoting an information received from the party.

Agrarian Democratic Party Makes Appeal

AU2404173490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1558 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/4/1990—The Agrarian Democratic Party addressed an appeal to all the political groupings in Romania, which shows among other things:

With over nine million hectares of arable land it is inconceivable for Romania to further buy foodstuffs in dollars.

To produce food in Romania, the economy has made special efforts this year: it gave agriculture all the quantities of chemical products, exporting no more, it imported pest-killers worth nearly 100 million dollars, modernization works are under way in units of the food industry and the units were given the possibility to plan crops structure by themselves as well as the production levels and its destination.

To ensure fodder more than 700 thousand tons of cereals were imported just as about 400 thousand tonnes of grits, 700 thousand tonnes of soybean as well as medicines, vitamins, powdered milk, and so forth.

By improving contracting prices for food products, the farming units and the individual producers will achieve additional incomes of over 30 billion lei, with a profit of more than 20 per cent with most of the agricultural products which have shown losses so far.

In animal farming, the huge support given by the economy has already yielded fruits: the demands for eggs have been met and so imports stopped.

The poultry production has seen sensitive increases and starting June the population's consumption requirements will be fully met.

There is no doubt that in this provisional political situation, some juridical solutions do not satisfy everybody. In the context, even the controversial decree 42/1990 did not intend to solve the major serious problems stockpiled over the years in the organization of agriculture and the legal regime of agricultural property. The regulations contained in this normative act can be judged only as a highly urgent imperative.

After underscoring that the existing discontent should not lead to leaving the land untilled, the Agrarian Democratic Party's appeal says: We should offer a chance to the future parliament so that both through the Constitution and the property law it can work out an agrarian law apt to fulfil each one's legitimate aspirations and the demands of the national economy for progress and prosperity.

Democratic Forum Member on Ongoing Oppression

AU2504142090 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 25 Apr 90 p 4

[Interview with Elod Kincses, counsel for the defense of Laszlo Tokes and prominent member of the Romanian Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Livia Klingl: place and date not given: "Is Romania Moving Backwards?"]

[Text] Vienna—Elod Kincses, counsel for the defense of Lazslo Tokes and prominent representative of the Romanian Hungarian Democratic Forum in Transylvania, fears for himself and his family. His telephone is bugged and he feels like he is being followed. From a reliable source he learned that a show trial against him is planned. He is accused of having armed the Hungarian workers of Tirgu Mures and having incited them against Romania. He gave the following interview to DER STANDARD journalist Livia Klingl.

[Klingl] How do you assess the development in Romania since last December?

[Kincses] It was both a revolution and a putsch. In Timisoara a revolution took place. What subsequently

happened in Bucharest was possible only with the help of parts of the Securitate. The minimum contribution of the Securitate was that they did not prevent Ceausescu from holding a mass rally. Those who assumed power then were not the same who headed the revolution. In a revolution the old structure of power has to be eliminated. This did not happen.

[Klingl] How do you see the role of the National Salvation Front?

[Kincses] The Front had a good start. I also liked its initial program. However, when the new politicians did not implement it, it became clear that they are only trying to delay things. They did not act against the Securitate and against Ceausescu's functionaries. Those responsible for the attempt to brutally crush the revolution remained unharmed. The structure of terror in the country should have been eliminated. The fanning of the nationality problems is also a sign of their reactionary policy. The minimum they want is to stop the democratization. President Ion Iliescu and Premier Petre Roman have far too many friends among the old cadres. Roman has extremely close relations with the nationalist Vatra Romaneasca. Instead of holding Vatra responsible for the bloody clashes in Tirgu Mures, he blames the Hungarians. According to its own statements, Vatra has 3.5 million members. Since parts of the organization have now become a party, it is to be feared that they will also achieve good results at the elections.

[Klingl] Is the Romanian revolution lost?

[Kincses] It looks like that. Democracy will not develop in our country without help from the West.

[Klingl] Are the Romanian Hungarians afraid?

[Kincses] Yes, very much so. We are constantly checking whether we are followed. And when we go to bed, we put some hard object next to us as a weapon.

[Klingl] How could one deal with the ethnic conflict?

[Kincses] The Romanian people would have to be informed about the events. It would have to be said that it was not the Asian Huns who attacked the peaceful Romanians, but the other way around. The investigating judges are—almost without exception—members of Vatra Romaneasca. After the clashes 37 people were arrested: 36 Hungarians and 1 Romanian. First, one would have to tell the truth and pass just sentences, then the normalization of life can start.

Forum Protests Withdrawal of King's Entry Visa

AU2404180890 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Apr 90 p 5

["Protest" issued by Romanian Antitotalitarian Forum against the government's revocation of former King Mihai's entry visa; place and date not given]

[Text]

Protest

The Romanian Antitotalitarian Forum, an independent movement for the defense of democracy and human rights firmly protests against the abusive decision to withdraw King Mihai's entry visa, a decision which runs counter to all international agreements on human and civil rights.

This decision, which reminds one of other sad times for our people, also runs counter to the domestic legislation passed after 22 December 1989.

The reasons invoked in the adoption of this decision are of a marked demagogic nature, as one can see from the following:

1. The Romanian people are well known for their humaneness; therefore, they would only act against the laws of hospitality if they are manipulated through disinformation and instigated by obscure forces.

2. No democratic government can make decisions that run counter to human rights by invoking the "opinion of some political figures," particularly if these figures might have strictly personal reasons, linked with their political ambitions, to speak out along these lines.

3. No civilized government can impose interdictions—usually reserved for common offenders—on a personality whose life is organically linked with the history of the people to whom he belongs. King Mihai is a bright figure in Romania's history. King Mihai opposed the establishment of the communist dictatorship and suffered because of that dictatorship; for 43 years he has expressed his solidarity with the Romanian people's suffering, thus becoming one of the voices of great international prestige through which this people have cried out its sorrow.

In view of the danger posed by this government decision for democracy, human rights, and Romania's prestige in the world, the Romanian Antitotalitarian Forum asks the government to speedily reconsider this unworthy decision.

President V. Dim. Hancu

NPCDP Youth Supports King's Right To Visit

AU2404180190 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Apr 90 p 5

["Statement" by the youth organization of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party addressed to former King Mihai of Romania; place and date not given]

[Text] Statement

Majesty,

The youth of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic *Party) [NPCDP] rejoices in Your Majesty's* decision to celebrate the Holy Easter celebration in Romania.

We know that the abusive act of Your Majesty's dethronement was and remains illegal and abusive. We know that you loved and continue to love the Romanian people.

For the rest of your life, we will address you as Your Majesty, because the Communists only stole your title of King of Romania, not that of the protector King of all Romanians.

Likewise, we will not forget your direct yearly messages to the Romanian people, which we considered as a gesture of great patriotism. We believe that a return to a constitutional monarchy is a question which only the Romanian people can sovereignly decide through a national referendum.

No one can contest Your Majesty's right to come to Romania and we support this right, which belongs to the realm of the individual's dignity and freedom. Even more so as you are the successor of Kings Carol I and Ferdinand, molders of independent and complete Romania, kings whose tombs lie on Romanian soil, at the Curtea de Arges Foundation.

Plan To Open Hard Currency Shops Criticized

AU2404123290 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 13 Apr 90 p 3

[Teofil Silve article: "Again Humiliation"]

[Excerpts] Our provisional Chamber of Deputies discussed a decree law on the activity of the Ministry of Tourism's special shops, that is the hard currency shops—like the old "Comturist" shops of sad memory, into whose windows we stared for scores of years helplessly, humiliated, and with indignation. [passage omitted] The prime minister of the provisional government has come up with the argument that "foreigners should be offered the goods they are used to," meaning that we can be left standing in the same lines we "got used to" under Gheorghiu Dej and Ceausescu. [passage omitted] Mr. Iliescu, in his brutal intervention (without his telegenic smile), clearly stated that one cannot renounce 80 million dollars for "some sentimental arguments." [passage omitted] So Gentlemen! Hard currency at the cost of humiliation and contempt for the country's citizens. [passage omitted]

Well, Messrs. Iliescu and Roman, it is quite obvious that you are not familiar with our way of life, that you did not know our way of life before the revolution, and that you do not know it now. [passage omitted] Because Mr. Iliescu senior had been a Romanian Communist Party underground activist, that is, a Russian agent. Because Mr. Valter Roman had been a fighter in Republican Spain, that is, a mercenary of the Soviets. That the Russians have had a return on these investments a thousand-fold, is another investment. Due to these "patriotic merits" of their parents, Messrs. Roman and Iliescu grew up and enjoyed all the privileges we could only dream of. Messrs. Iliescu and Roman, you and your children did not know the meaning of humiliation and poverty, you did not know what it means to be unable to go on to higher education because of the lack of an appropriate file, that is, because one was the son of a kulak, officer, or of a mere intellectual.

Mr. Iliescu, you would not like us to publish the lists of the Romanian students who studied in the Soviet Union and other countries. Many of those who were in Moscow became dissidents later—we know when and why. Ceausescu felt that you were Gorbachev supporters. In your youth, you were Stalin supporters; in your grown up years, you were Khruschev and Brezhnev supporters; now, in your late years, you have become Gorbachevists. Your troubles with Ceausescu and the accounts you wanted settled with him are different from ours. [passage omitted]

You gentlemen from the former nomenklatura, who had access to special supply shops and enjoyed privileges we could only dream of, cannot think differently. You are simply defending a system which favored you and raised you to unimaginable peaks. [passage omitted]

Deals, Contracts With Foreign Partners

AU2304124390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0959 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/4/1990—The Romanian foreign trade company Uzinexportimport has concluded a contract on the sale of a 165,000 DWT ship to Greece.

—The president of the West-German Mercedes-Benz concern discussed in Romania possibilities of cooperation for the joint manufacturing of certain types of coaches, tout-terrain cars and heavy engines.

—According to a contract concluded by experts of the Mecanoexportimport foreign trade company, the Netherlands will buy from Romania 240 tank cars worth some 10 million dollars.

—Talks resumed with the representatives of the Citroen company, France, to establish concrete measures for the orientation of the Oltcit joint company's activity in 1990.

—Foreign trade companies concluded with firms in the U.S. and Federal Germany new contracts, worth over 80 million dollars.

—Contracts concluded with China stipulate exports of machine-tools worth 1,129,000 Swiss francs and imports of various goods worth 38,581,000 Swiss

francs, including: Dyestuffs and pigments, hides, pharmaceutical raw materials and traditional medicines, measurement and control apparatus, machine-tools and medical outfit.

—Since the beginning of the year Romania participated with national pavilions in 8 international fairs in Kuwait, Frankfurt, Dubai, Tripoli, Basel, Cairo, Leipzig and Panama City, winning 4 diplomas and 3 medals. Romanian foreign trade companies concluded at the fairs export-import contracts worth over 100 million dollars and 200 million roubles.

Lithuanian Embargo Protested at USSR Embassy

AU2404194990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1746 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/4/1990—Tuesday afternoon nearly 100 members of the Group for Democracy gathered to peacefully demonstrate in front of the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Bucharest. They were carrying panels reading appeals to President Mikhail Gorbachev for a finding a solution to the Lithuanian issue by peaceful means, through dialogue and not through economic pressures.

Roman Receives U.S. Military Delegation

AU2104154490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0858 GMT 21 Apr 90

["Visit by American Military Delegation"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/4/1990—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman received on Friday afternoon an American military delegation led by Lieutenant General George Lee Butler, strategic plans and policy director of the joint chiefs of staff, now on a visit to Romania.

The guest thanked for the opportunity to visit Romania, the country where the revolutionary process of December 1989 was completely different from that in the other East European countries. It was stressed that although they belonged to different military organizations relations can develop between the two countries to be beneficial to both of them.

The interview was attended by Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, Romania's national defence minister, and Colonel Branko Marinovich, U.S. military attache in Bucharest.

Delegation Concludes Visit

AU2104154590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1034 GMT 21 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/4/1990—An American military delegation led by Lieutenant General George Lee Butler, strategic plans and policy director of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States, visited Romania over 19-21 April.

During the visit the delegation were received by Prime Minister Petre Roman. The American guests were also received by Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, national defence minister, and had talks with Colonel General Vasile Ionel, first deputy minister of national defence and chief of staff. The American delegation saw round military learning institutions, places of social, cultural and tourist interest in Bucharest and in the country.

Iliescu Receives FRG Parliamentary Delegation

AU2004183090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1720 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 20/4/1990—Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], received on April 20 the delegation of the Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union parliamentary fraction in the West-German Bundestag, headed by Michaela Geiger, CSU deputy, foreign policy spokeswoman of the CDU-CSU. The delegation further includes Hermann Kroll-Schlueter, CDU deputy, Klaus Terfloth, Bucharest ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, attended.

The PNUC president outlined to the guests the main aspects of the Romanian sociopolitical and economic life in this period marked by the intensified election campaign. Inquired by the West German parliamentarians, Mr. Ion Iliescu also spoke of the options of the National Salvation Front [NSF], especially in the economic and social domains, the realistic targets set in the NSF platform. He evoked in that context the decisions already made by the government for overcoming the current economic difficulties and for the progress of the Romanian economy.

He also enlarged upon the characteristics of the December revolution in the general context of the changes in the East European countries.

The interview proceeded in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

Commentary Assails Baker's 'Interference'

AU2404130290 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Apr 90 p 1

[Radovan Stipetic commentary: "Bulls and Silence"]

[Text] At the beginning of the great preelection silence, when, through the force of law and better democratic traditions, parties temporarily cease trying to win over the voters, it would be good to recall how the first pluralist and democratic preelection campaign in Croatia went. Let us say immediately: It went quite well (which is something that has already been officially confirmed), despite the predictions that people would be throttling each other as soon as they received the freedom to loudly express their political view. The predictions were perhaps prompted by memories of painful examples of countries which have also undergone a period during which democracy was introduced: Spain, for example, where bombs were exploding and revenge was wreaked, or Italy, which paid for its postwar democratic renewal with many bloody noses and a veritable plethora of sometimes dangerous and sometimes grotesque police-political antidemocratic plots.

Even though there have been incidents here, too, fortunately nothing happened (at least up until the moment when this newspaper went to press) which could have threatened the essential thing, and that is the democratic transformation as a guarantee of a better future for all citizens of Croatia. True, there have been crazy, tasteless, or immoderate statements by individual opposition politicians who have acted like bulls in a china shop, full of still fragile displays of our new democracy. However, this is in the end their affair: Everything that they said or did will be authoritatively assessed by the voters with their ballot papers.

The same assessments also await the candidates of the until recently ruling party who have—let us acknowledge that of them—demonstrated quite a lot of finesse and moderation, as if they really have had nothing to do with the party's past. Nevertheless, their camp also housed clumsy little bulls, inclined toward breaking the glass of the representatives of the so-called media, who will in no way understand the range of the social turnaround: Whether you like it or not they continually attack a mythical "enemy" which no longer exists (if it ever did). Their spiritual sluggishness is nevertheless their own problem.

The syndrome of bulls in china shops seems to have infected a high-level uniformed visitor to the northwestern republics. This is all the more unpleasant since every democracy insists that the military structure cannot interfere in political decisions, which are the sovereign right of citizens and the people. This is at the very least yet another example of spiritual sluggishness.

Nevertheless, the most clumsy burst burst into the china shop here from far away, even from the other side of the Atlantic. Speaking in Congress just before the conclusion of the election campaign in Croatia (first round) and Slovenia (second round), the United States Secretary of State warned that "the Yugoslav government lacks the power that a central federal power should have," while our republics "have a lot of autonomy so that there are obvious ethnic rivalries and nationalist tendencies." Indeed, the timing of Baker's speech was anything but accidental, particularly if we recall that in recent days one or two visitors have been coming from Washington with an American prescription for the ills here and even with very precise "personal" recommendations.

Even according to classic assumptions of international relations, this speech by Mr. Baker would have to be called interference in the affairs of other states, particularly at a time when all the constituent republics in this state want—albeit in different ways—to redefine their mutual relations and their attitudes toward the federal state. They do not have either a lot of or too much autonomy simply because they are sovereign states. We would be wasting too much paper if we were to analyze in detail the myriad inaccuracies made in so few words by the Secretary of State. We are only pointing out that the possible "nationalist tendencies" in the 72 years of the existence of the Yugoslav state should not be blamed on "a lot of autonomy" but, on the contrary, on attempts to limit or eliminate it. No, Mr. Baker, neither Croatia, nor Slovenia, nor Serbia (and so on) are like the U.S. state of Arizona with borders drawn with a ruler, and their constituent nations are not suitable ingredients for an U.S.-type "melting pot."

It has often happened that high-level United States officials authoritative have meditated on matters about which they have no idea, even though we naively assumed that they had nevertheless got out of the habit. Thus, it is becoming more understandable why inflated Yankee imperialism—along with Soviet imperialism—is among the most hated phenomena in the modern world. Neither Mao, nor Castro, nor Ho Chi Minh popped up out of the blue just like that.

Drnovsek Continues Official Visit to Portugal

Receives Political Leaders

LD2404123990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2032 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Lisbon 23 Apr (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, who is on an official visit to Portugal, this afternoon received in separate visits Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party, and Ferraz da Costa, chairman of the Socialist Party of Portugal [name and title as received].

The talks with the leaders of the largest opposition parties in Portugal focused on trends and processes in East and Central Europe and the impact which these events will have on the future positions of the parties of the Left on the continent and on overall European developments. [passage omitted]

Makes Dinner Speech With Soares

LD2404122190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1737 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Lisbon, 23 Apr (TANJUG)—"Tito was a great friend of Portugal. He visited us twice after 'the carnation revolution', he carefully followed our revolutionary process, and he never let us down, always sympathized with us in our most difficult moments. [no closing quotation mark received]

With these words, Portuguese President Mario Soares spoke about the memory of President Tito in his toast at the formal dinner given this evening in honor of SFRY Presidency Janez Drnovsek. [passage omitted]

According to the Portuguese president, Yugoslavia and Portugal want to take an active part in drawing up the "new European architecture", in creating the Europe which should be built on foundations of peace, security, and solidarity.

Reviewing the prospects for that "new Europe", Soares underscored that forces should be joined so that Europe becomes "the space of solidarity", space in which a new international economic order based on free and fair trade and a greater regional balance will be developed.

In his toast Soares also spoke about cooperation between Yugoslavia and Portugal and the interest of the two countries for opening a constructive north-south dialogue, and the role of the Nonaligned Movement in the dialogue.

In response to his host's toast, President of the SFRY Presidency Janez Drnovsek began by saying that his visit to Portugal coincides with the 15th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. During this period they have been marked by their friendly character and a high degree of understanding.

Having expressed a wish for even more prosperous and meaningful cooperation, Janez Drnovsek went on to stress the need to strengthen economic cooperation which he described as symbolic. A wider scope and greater opportunities for foreign capital investment will be provided by economic reform in Yugoslavia. Drnovsek also drew attention to Yugoslav business interest in taking part in Portugal's development programs, especially those financed by the EC.

Despite the great difficulties in implementing reforms in the economic and political systems we are, Drnovsek said, "firmly determined to persevere in this direction as a prerequisite for our greater involvement in contemporary Europe processes and trends."

In this connection Janez Drnovsek stressed that Yugoslavia, as a European country, is deeply interested in taking part in and contributing to all developments in Europe and especially to integrational processes. "Our efforts to raise our relations with the EC at an institutionally higher level as well as our desire to become a member of the European Council are all the more understandable and natural," Drnovsek stressed.

Janez Drnovsek went on to say that "Yugoslavia highly appreciates Portugal's understanding and support for its efforts and expects them to contnue in the future."

He described as invaluable Portugal's experience in adjusting to EC terms and in using the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] fund for industrial development.

Expressing the conviction that the future of European cooperation is our joint concern, Drnovsek specified that it will depend on the spreading of democratic processes and interdependence between integration movements, and in particular on resolving the gap in technological development between the European north and south. Democratization of international relations, especially between great powers in the East and the West, irrespective of how desirable it is, is not followed in sufficient degree by changes in international economic relations, and in particular in north-south relations, Drnovsek cautioned. In connection with this, he recalled that this is one of the main preoccupations of the nonaligned countries—whose presiding member is Yugoslavia in this period—as well as that the ninth nonaligned summit opted for a new and dynamic approach to international relations, which should resolve problems of one's own development.

Citing over-indebtedness as one of the most serious problems of a large number of countries, Janez Drnovsek expressed the view that detente must be extended to world economic relations, because otherwise detente could be seriously jeopardized by economic crisis in north-south relations.

The awareness that we all inevitably share the same fate, Janez Drnovsek said finally, points to the need for developing a new security system under changed international conditions through overcoming bloc divisions in Europe and the world.

Ends Visit

LD2404220290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2003 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Lisbon, April 24 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Janez Drnovsek left Lisbon for Belgrade today, after a two-day official visit to Portugal.

During the visit, Drnovsek had conferred with Portuguese President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva on a further promotion of bilateral cooperation and the latest processes and developments in Europe.

Yugoslav President Drnovsek and Secretary for Foreign Economic Relations Franc Horvat, who had accompanied Drnovsek on the visit to Portugal, had also conferred here with Portuguese businessmen and the leadership of the Portuguese Chamber of Commerce.

Financial Official Presents Economic Data

LD2404122290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2220 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 23 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav economy has marked an increase in exports, especially in convertible currency markets, this year but the insolvency of Yugoslav firms has also increased in the same period, it was said at a press conference of the Yugoslav Social Accountancy Service here today.

Yugoslavia's exports to convertible currrency markets from January to mid-April this year have increased by 25 percent as compared to the same period last year, and by 0.6 percent to clearing markets, manager of the Social Accounting Service Momcilo Graovac said.

This means that the Yugoslav economy, according to the reforms of Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic, is restructuring to the developed markets.

Yugoslavia's imports from the convertible currency markets has increased by 35.7 percent and only by 8.4 percent from the clearing markets in the first three and a half months of this year, Graovac said.

The losses of the Yugoslav economy last year are three-times greater than the accumulation, so that more than 6,300 firms have become insolvent by the end of last month. These firms employ 2.7 million people, nearly one-third of Yugoslavia's working population.

Graovac warned that if a firm is insolvent for two months it goes bankrupt, adding that there have been 213 bankruptcy reports so far.

Croat Elections Viewed With 'Fear,' 'Anxiety'

AU2404193590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Ljubomir Nikolic report]

[Text] [Announcer] Here is a report by Ljubomir Nikolic on the way people in Bosnia-Hercegovina see and comment the latest events in the country and particularly results of elections in Croatia:

[Nikolic] All events concerning elections in Croatia are followed by the public in Bosnia-Hercegovina with great attention and interest. Results of elections in Croatia published so far have caused fear and anxiety among the majority of population in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Of course, the most concerned are Serbs and communists, but Muslims and even a large section of Croats are not happy about Tudjman's victory. There are several reasons for such feelings. In statements by Franjo Tudjman and other leading people of the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC], their election slogans, program, and even symbols, many people, and primarily Serbs, see a restoration of Ustasha policies which has left bloody trails in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At the very times when the awareness of the Muslim identity has reached its highest point, Tudjman irritates the Muslims by denying their identity and proclaiming them the flower of the Croatian people and a part of the Croatian national corpus.

As concerns Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Tudjman and the CDC may have support in western Hercegovina, so it is small wonder that the after first election results were publicized, the CDC Coordination Committee for Hercegovina spoke up demanding its activity to be legalized.

However, one should say that the awareness of the special character of Bosnia-Hercegovina and of the need to maintain its sovereignty and its borders is very emphasized among all its peoples and nationalities. Only a Bosnia-Hercegovina such as it is now can guarantee its citizens peace, freedom, and equality, and that is what the people here care for most.

One should add here the confidence the majority of people here have in Ante Markovic's program. Ante Markovic is the man from these regions who represents the only hope for impoverished and backward Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Finally, people here are attached to the idea of Yugoslavism. They are aware of the fact that it is only in Yugoslavia that they can count on having their own state in which everybody feels being equal.

However, one should wait for the further development of events. Nevertheless, it is already clear that the process of democratization, the creation of a multiparty system, and the particularly possible creation of parties on the national basis, will be followed in Bosnia-Hercegovina with fear and anxiety concerning possible interethnic clashes and confrontations.

Review of Provisional Election Results in Croatia

LD2404191990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1622 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—Reports on the election results from Sunday's first multiparty elections in Croatia, which had come in by this afternoon, show that the Croatian Democratic Union [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica] [HDZ] is realizing a significant lead. In second place is the Croat League of Communists—Party for Democratic Change [SK Hrvatske—Stranka Demokratskhi Promjena] [SKH-SDP], while the Coalition of National Accord [Koalicija Naradnog Sporazuma] [KNS] has suffered what can be freely described as the first defeat of the elections.

As of this afternoon, results were received at the Elections '90 press center at the Zagreb Fair from 103

constituencies for the Assembly Chamber of Municipalities, in which 2,629,847 people voted, or 74.3 percent of the total registered to vote. At the same time, initial reports have come in from 71 constituencies for the Assembly Sociopolitical Chamber, accounting for 2,081,891 votes, which is 58.82 percent of the total number.

According to the computer results which are constantly being updated at the election press center, the HDZ candidates are leading in 49 constituencies for the Assembly Sociopolitical Chamber and in 23 of them they have a more than 50 percent lead. Candidates of the SKH-SPD are leading in 20 constituencies for the Sociopolitical Chamber, in four of them with a joint candidate with the Croatian Socialist Alliance, and in one with the Split Green Action. [passage omitted]

HDZ candidates are leading in 64 constituencies for the Chamber of Municipalities as well, and in 41 they have for the time being more than 50 percent of the votes. SKH-SDP candidates are leading in 26 constituencies (in eight of them with the Socialist Alliance), with a more than 50 percent lead in 12 constituencies for the Assembly Chamber of Municipalities. [passage omitted]

Of the party leaders, according to the results up to this afternoon in the first round of voting, HDZ Chairman Franjo Tudjman is certain of election in the first round, and is leading with 69.21 percent of votes in his own constituency, Dubrava I [Zagreb]. Ivica Racan, president of the SKH-SDP is leading in the Zagreb constituency of Trnje with 40.92 percent. [passage omitted]

Croatia's Tudjman Interviewed on Markovic Reform

AU2404205690 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Franjo Tudjman, chairman of the Croatian Democratic Community, by Thomas Orter; place and date not given—recorded; Tudjman statements in Croatian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] He is already assuming the attitude of the glorious winner. His supporters celebrate him in a not very modest way as the messiah of Croatia. In an ORF exclusive interview, the 68 year-old former general, political prisoner, dissident, and current political leader, outlines his program:

[Begin recording] [Tudjman] We want to part with the one-party system and introduce a multiparty system. Basically, we want to change the former situation of Croatia. We will win the absolute majority, but we will continue to cooperate with all democratic forces.

[Orter] Who are the candidates for the government?

[Tudjman] We have not yet decided this question. Our government will be set up only after the second round of elections in early May. As far as the development in all of Yugoslavia is concerned, we really hope that after Croatia and Slovenia, democracy will make further progress in Serbia as well.

[Orter] Do you consider the reform program of the Markovic government as unsuccessful?

[Tudjman] We do not completely reject Markovic's policy, which has also its positive sides. Nevertheless, we are still convinced that this is not a good policy for Croatia. We reject this centralist policy of Markovic. Therefore, we will see whether we will be able to continue to cooperate with him. [end recording]

Tudjman Holds News Conference on Elections

LD2404180490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1626 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—The elections in Croatia are a plebiscite for the party which promises the people the opportunity to decide on its self-determination. The first measures which the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] will tackle will be directed at drawing up a Croatian constitution, and then, at negotiating with representatives of all the nations on establishing new relations within Yugoslavia.

This was stated today at the first HDZ post-election news conference by HDZ leader Dr. Franjo Tudjman. He said that his predictions that the party would get 60 percent of the votes came true, and that the final results will be even better. He expressed his party's willingness to cooperate with all democratic groups and individuals in the second round of voting, so that, as he put it, everything is done for democracy to win on Croatian soil.

A new republican government, according to Tudjman, will have a place for ministers from other parties, and for nonparty personalities, so that the government reflects, as much as possible, the interests of the people. The Croatia Assembly will decide what his role will be, he said.

Dr Tudjman cited an agreement on setting up a federation in which each nation will have the right to sovereignty and self-determination, as the key issue in a future Yugoslav community. What is actually set up will depend on future negotiations with other nations, Tudjman underlined.

Dr. Tudjman said that the Assembly will decide what economic moves need to be made by a future Croatian government. At the same time, he stressed in particular that current Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic must take into account the main political force in Croatia. This also applies to Dr. Stipe Suvar, since the Assembly will decide who is going to represent it in federal bodies, Tudjman said.

Commenting on the yet unknown election results, Dr. Tudjman said that he is not surprised that his party won, but he expects the Coalition of National Accord and the

Croatian League of Communists-Party of Democratic Changes will share the rest of the votes. He is surprised by commentaries that the polarization into two political parties is not good for democracy.

When asked to comment on today's decision of the Titova Mitrovica court, Dr. Tudjman said that he welcomed it as a step toward democratization in Kosovo and Serbia as a whole.

Dr. Tudjman made several remarks about journalists and their reporting. He expressed disapproval of Italian journalists in particular. He said that they do not understand the HDZ. Italian journalists stressed that after the elections Croatia will move toward the right.

Dr. Tudjman announced that very soon a Croatian news agency will be set up, it will then present facts about events in Croatia objectively. He announced changes in the public information media, especially radio and TV, because it is not normal, as he put it, that Croatians are not represented in adequate numbers. He said that no revanchism will come about and that quality will still be valued. He said however that there will be changes, as is customary in other countries after elections, especially if radio and TV remain state institutions.

Kucan's Election as Slovene President Announced

LD2404145390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—The republican election commission has announced the final, official results of the elections for the president of the Presidency of the Slovene Republic. Out of 1,145,000 voters, 58.59 percent voted for newly elected President Milan Kucan, and 41.41 percent for Dr Joze Pucnik.

Slovene Assembly Election Results Announced

LD2404210290 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Summary] The Slovene Republican Electoral Commission today announced the results of both the presidential and assembly elections. The results of the election for the Sociopolitical Chamber were announced some time ago. In the election for the 80- seat Chamber of Municipalities, Demos-United Oppostion gained 50 seats, the Union of Slovene Socialist Youth-the Liberal Party 16 seats, the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Renewal and the Slovene Socialist Alliance five seats each, the Italian and Hungarian minorities have two seats [one each], and the Independents have gained two seats.

In the 80-seat Chamber of Associated Labor Demos-United Opposition have 26 seats, the Slovene Socialist Youth Union-the Liberal Party nine seats, the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Renewal six seats, and the Slovene Socialist Alliance three seats. The remaining deputies are representatives of the Free Slovene Trade Unions, of the Chambers of Economy, or are independent.

Peterle Proposed for Slovene Executive President

LD2404212590 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2000 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] During its session tonight, the Demos Presidency decided to propose that the president of the Slovene Presidency choose Christian Democrat Lojze Peterle as the Slovene Executive Council's president-designate. They also decided that Dr. France Bucar, a member of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, will be the candidate for president of the Slovene Republican Assembly.

The Demos Presidency also discussed possible candidates for membership in the republican government. It also passed a statement that the present government should not take any steps that might make the work of the new government more difficult.

Markovic Meets With Slovene Businessmen

LD2404231190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Radenci, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—The excessive burdening of the economy with various taxes, undervalued exports and the overvalued exchange rate of the dinar—these were the main comments which the directors of the major export enterprises in Slovenia made to the FEC [Federal Executive Council] President Ante Markovic in today's talks in Radenci.

Following the enthusiasm for the FEC measures immediately after their adoption, the Slovene exporters have in recent months several times attributed the increasingly obvious weaknesses in the previously leading part of the Yugoslav economy to the application of precisely these measures. On this occasion, too, they repeated the belief that "Markovic's measures" have led the Slovene economy to the brink of collapse.

Noting the undisputable results of the reform moves made by the FEC, confirmed primarily in the bringing down of inflation, increasingly more comprehensive introducion of economic laws and removal of accumulated voluntaristic nonmarket decisions and behavior in many areas, Ante Markovic rejected remarks made by Slovene exporters as unfounded.

He stressed world experts gave high marks to the concept itself, the implementation of economic measures and, especially, speedy results achieved in many areas.

This government in fact is changing everything: the system, its structure and institutions, Markovic said. He stressed that in doing so, possibilities for the reform of the state and its organization according to principles required by market economy, are created.

Markovic warned that, if we have not envisioned the entire change in the economic and political system and if we have not started to implement them, the only prospect for our country would be a complete catastrophe. He asked leading Slovene exporters, who can truly boast of having a lion's share of Yugoslav convertible exports, could anyone believe that a way out of difficulties was possible from the recent Yugoslav situation, from the system based on voluntarism, the system in a deep crisis. At the same time he claimed that, if the belief in the necessity of victimless transition, from what was rejected into what is necessary, does not prevail, then we could abandon all our future efforts.

Judging by views which Markovic expressed in the course of today's talks, abandoning changes which the present government is envisaging and implementing, could have catastrophic consequences for the entire Yugoslavia. This is clear particularly under our multinational conditions. With a view to this, he appealed to Slovene exporters, in accordance with their frequently confirmed great abilities, to contribute to the implementation of necessary changes and to adjust more thoroughly to the existing conditions.

Among measures envision by the FEC, and which could be adopted soon, Ante Markovic especially underlined further development of the system of taxation, unburdening of the economy, further liberalization of imports, break-up of monopolies and, as very important, the change in the character of ownership.

Markovic, Kucan Discuss Economic Issues

LD2404223790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1757 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Radenci, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—FEC [Federal Executive Council] President Ante Markovic and the newly elected Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan had talks in Radenci today on the current socio-economic and reformist changes in our country.

Special attention was paid to the measures taken so far and measures planned by the FEC, its efforts for the inclusion of the Yugoslav economy in European economic trends, and the comments of Slovene exporters on the FEC's measures to date.

Kucan Interviewed on Slovene Situation

LD2404212390 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2000 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Milan Kucan, the new Slovene state president, today received many messages of congratulation on his election, including one from the members of the delegation of U.S. Congress visiting our republic and one by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council. Tonight Milan Kucan was a guest of RTV Ljubljana. He took part in the Good Evening President TV program and was subsequently interviewed by our reporter Marjan Rovelj:

[Begin recording] [Rovelj] Comrade Kucan, following the many interviews you had in recent weeks we are now talking to you as president of Slovene Presidency. However, hand in hand with your joy and probably pride too, a man of your caliber is no doubt asking himself questions far removed from the electoral campaign and which indubitably are important for our future. What sort of spring can we Slovenes hope for together with Milan Kucan.

[Kucan] No doubt working on [words indistinct] which means working on in accordance with [words indistinct] whereby we reached this very important crossing over the threshold represented by the elections; we have reached this point in a democratic and civilized way. As a nation we are historically mature, a nation not inclined to resort to violence enjoying a high degree of social and political awareness on the part of our people and yet a nation which made a radical impact on the kind of life we once led. The process of political and economic reforms must continue. In a relatively short period of time we must reach a stable democracy and a European society and state which is successful in every respect—economic, social, cultural—and for the civilization point of view as well. We have a legitimate and legally elected structure of authority and the people carrying this authority who will have to take on the responsibility for an agreement to resolve these issues which are most important for our future together. Of course, these are the issues which must be raised above party division and political struggle and which must show that we Slovenes are capable of concentrating all our creative thought, wisdom, and hard work and that we have a great deal at home [words indistinct].

[Rovelj] What in your view has to be done to allow us more rapidly to become one with all positive democratic achievements in Europe and yet retain our identity in the full sense of this word?

[Kucan] I think that this march of ours into Europe must be without any complexes. We can give and show something to this Europe. [words indistinct] This is all experience, with all the positive and negative aspects experienced so far. On the other hand I think that when entering Europe one must not be conceited as if we had nothing further to learn from Europe; we have a great deal to learn. On the other hand, there is a great deal we can offer, and vis-a-vis the perspective which has posed itself as one of the possible [words indistinct] realistic prospects of Europe as a confederation of equal and modern democratic nations, such an expectation is more than well-grounded.

[Rovelj] Esteemed President, the program in which you are now taking part, broadcast on short waves can be heard throughout the world. You can be heard both in Europe and in many continents. There are 60,000 Slovenes in Europe, living across our borders [zdomci]. The number of people of Slovene origin in overseas countries is much greater. Will you strive to establish links with our compatriots? How will you go about it or

indeed suggest how to bring closer the relations between our people and their capital as well?

[Kucan] There are many people living beyond the borders of our ethnic homeland. From my native village too there are many people traditionally dispersed [word indistinct] as we used to call them back at home, and on many occasions I had an opportunity to talk to them, even in Australia, that is to say far from their home. The manner of these people's thinking and their wish to have as frequent and as normal links as possible with their homeland is more than obvious and even in the context of our present constitution we are dutybound to shown concern for the (?progress) of these people and I think the new constitution too, and the policy of the Republic of Slovenia based on it vis-a-vis these people, our compatriots, who are citizens of other countries who however are Slovenes, should be successful, should be an expression of the concern for our [word indistinct] people, and should not forget any of our people.

Ideas such as a Panslovene Congress, such as meetings of our people living across our borders, and, even more important, the opening of the Slovene economy run under market economy principles common to the world, and the establishment of conditions for (?entrepreneurial spirit) and for the capital of the people who acquired this experience and capital through hard work abroad should be (?organized) that is, evalued and tested, in our country and in our domestic conditions too. (?Incentives) are available, there will be [word indistinct] legal securities will be provided for this capital, and for these people, and with the opening of Slovenia (?to all) Europeans for integration, economic, cultural and civilization processes (?this program and these measures) will become much less important.

There is one more thing. The Slovene Presidency and the Slovene (?Socialist) Alliance with their (?separate statements) on national political reconciliation and the state presidency and the readiness to do away with the existing legal consequences of former post-war and wartime divisions which to all intents and purposes will make it possible for every man, every Slovene wishing to do so, to settle, normalize, his relations with his homeland (?whenever possible).

[Rovelj] Many people would now like shake your hand and join many others in expressing their congratulations. May I in my own name and on behalf of everyone wishing to do so express my most sincere congratulations coupled with the wish that you may be satisfied with your work and that we may be satisfied with Milan Kucan.

[Kucan] Thank you much for your congratulations. These congratulations [words indistinct]. Together with other members of the presidency of the Republic of Slovenia I will try to fulfil these expectations. I should like to explain to the (?people) throughout the world listening to this program that spring in Slovenia is beautiful and that although the spring (?will end), the political spring will not come to an end as long as we do not live the sort of life lived by the people in democratic Europe. [end recording]

Crowds Greet Vlasi Acqittal, Forced To Disperse

LD2404134790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 24 Apr

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—Following the announcement of the verdict of the Titova Mitrovica district court on their acquittal, Azem Vlasi and 13 Trepca managers and workers were greeted with enthusiastic applause and shouts of "Azem, Azem" from several hundred citizens gathered in the vicinity of the court.

Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abrasi, Buhran Kavaja, Ljazer Krasnici and others gave interviews to journalists.

Immediately before the verdict was pronounced, several thousand citizens of Albanian nationality gathered near the district court. They first stood peacefully. When security forces members, who secured approaches to the court with their heavy presence and equipment, appeared, they started to applaud and raised hands in v-for-victory signs.

Security forces members issued verbal warnings for the gathered people to disperse, which was met with jeering. In the main Titova Motrovica street, policemen moved toward the gathered mass of people, which by around 1100—at the moment of the court prouncement—reached 10,000 people.

The citizens withdrew to a bus station at the other end of the town. The anticipation in the streets lasted more than two hours, so the gathered people started to disperse slowly into side streets. The police used armored vehicles, water cannons, cars, and helicopters to warn the gathered people to disperse.

The introduction of riot-dispersal equipment was greeted with applause, jeers, and individual shouts of "Chetniks" and "Gypsies".

Several thousand people strolled down the Pristina promenade today at around 1300. Several hundred citizens gathered in the center of Pristina in front of Azem Vlasi's apartment. Vlasi greeted them from a balcony and asked them to disperse.

Radmilovic Comments on Future of Serbia

LD2404202990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1331 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Paris, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—Let us hope that commonsense will prevail in the end. This could provide a basis for "a formula' enabling joint life in Yugoslavia and the efficient functioning of the country." Dr Stanko Radmilovic, president of the Serbian Executive Council, stated this today in Paris [words indistinct].

At the same time Radmilovic made it plain that there are currently differing views about the country's future, ranging from a strict federal conception to "general break up." However, he gave preference to "commonsense and the sense of togetherness," because, he added, no one has provided a better alternative than a joint life.

According to the president of the Serbian Republican Executive Council, "Kosovo in itself presents a problem, but is also a focal point for issues about the fate of the federation." Currently, the situation is peaceful, but not completely so, he added stressing that separatists have not given up for good their fatal goal—of turning Kosovo into a separate republic (state), which would give Kosovo the right to set in motion the proceedings for its secession from the SFRY.

The suggestion about democratic dialogue as the solution to the Kosovo problem sounds fine. However, it is not attainable when a strong demand for secession exists. "Serbia is naturally in favor of negotiations but only if their limits are previously set," because, he added, no state so far in the history of the mankind has sat down to negotiate about secession of its own territory. Serbia is in favor of coming together, joint life and equality of all ethnic communities, but not for giving "more equality" to only one community, to what action of separatistic nationalists in the province amount.

Radmilovic today briefed in detail export representatives in Paris about the current economic situation in the country and then, answered several, mainly political, questions.

This afternoon, Radmilovic will have two important economic dialogues with Marc Vienot, chairman of the Societe Generale Bank, and Martin Bouygues, a president of the Bouygues multinational concern. The second day of the visit to Paris, Radmilovic ends this evening with talks with French Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

Montenegro Communists Want New LCY Program

LD2404213990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Titograd, April 24 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Montenegro Central Committee accepted today the initiative of its Presidency to hold a congress of programme renewal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), finding it most acceptable at present.

The 14th special congress of the LCY was adjourned late in January, after the delegates from the Republic of Slovenia walked out, thus opening the biggest crisis in the party's history.

The talks on a resumption of the congress have widened divisions within the party.

The latest session of the LCY Central Committee, held last month to decide whether the 14th congress should be continued or a new, 15th Congress held, was incomplete. The representatives did not show up while those from Bosnia-Hercegovina left before the end.

In the Montenegrin Party leadership's opinion, the proposed congress of the LCY's programme renewal should relieve the present LCY leadership of its duties, proclaim the [word indistinct] congress ended and set up a preparatory committee for the 15th congress which would also act as party leadership in the intervening period.

The congress of programme renewal could be held in mid-June at the latest, so that the 15th congress could take place before the multi-party election in October.

The Slovene Communists who, after leaving the 14th congress set up an independent Party of Democratic Reform, have described the LCY as no longer existing. The Croatian Communists who also altered the name of their party into the Party of Democratic Changes, said the same after the latest LCY Central Committee session.

In the meantime, the LCY Central Committee Presidency postponed its next session until all suggestions from the membership concerning the future of the LCY have been processed.

Party of Yugoslavs Founded in Macedonia

LD2404230890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2059 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Summary] Skopje, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Party of Yugoslavs [Stranka Jugoslovena] initiative committee held a meeting in Skopje this evening. The draft statute of the party's Zagreb founders was adopted. The Macedonian Party of Yugoslavs founding assembly will take place in Skopje in May, it was decided.

'Tito' Sign Removed from Municipal Building

LD2404212890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Zrenjaninm 24 Apr (TANJUG)—Under the orders of Dusan Gavranovic, vice president of the Zrenjanin municipal assembly, the sign "Tito" and the red star with hammer and sickle were removed from a dome on the municipal building. The sign and red star have been at the top of the dome of the municipal building for decades.

According to Dusan Gavranovic, they were removed because, under the conditions of political pluralism, no symbols are needed on the municipal building.

Pljevlja Municipal LC Officials Resign

LD2404183390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0805 GMT 24 apr 90

[Summary] Pljevlja, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—Following a marathon session that ended at 0300 [0100 GMT] this

morning, the Plevlja League of Communists [LC] Municipal Committee accepted the irrevocable resignations of Momcilo Knezevic, president of the Pljevlja LC Municipal Committee, and of Dusko Borovic and Vukomir Jovic, members of the Pljevlja LC Municipal Committee Presidium. The resignations follow an initiative by the Pljevlja medical center LC organization, which had accused these officials of passivity and other mistakes.